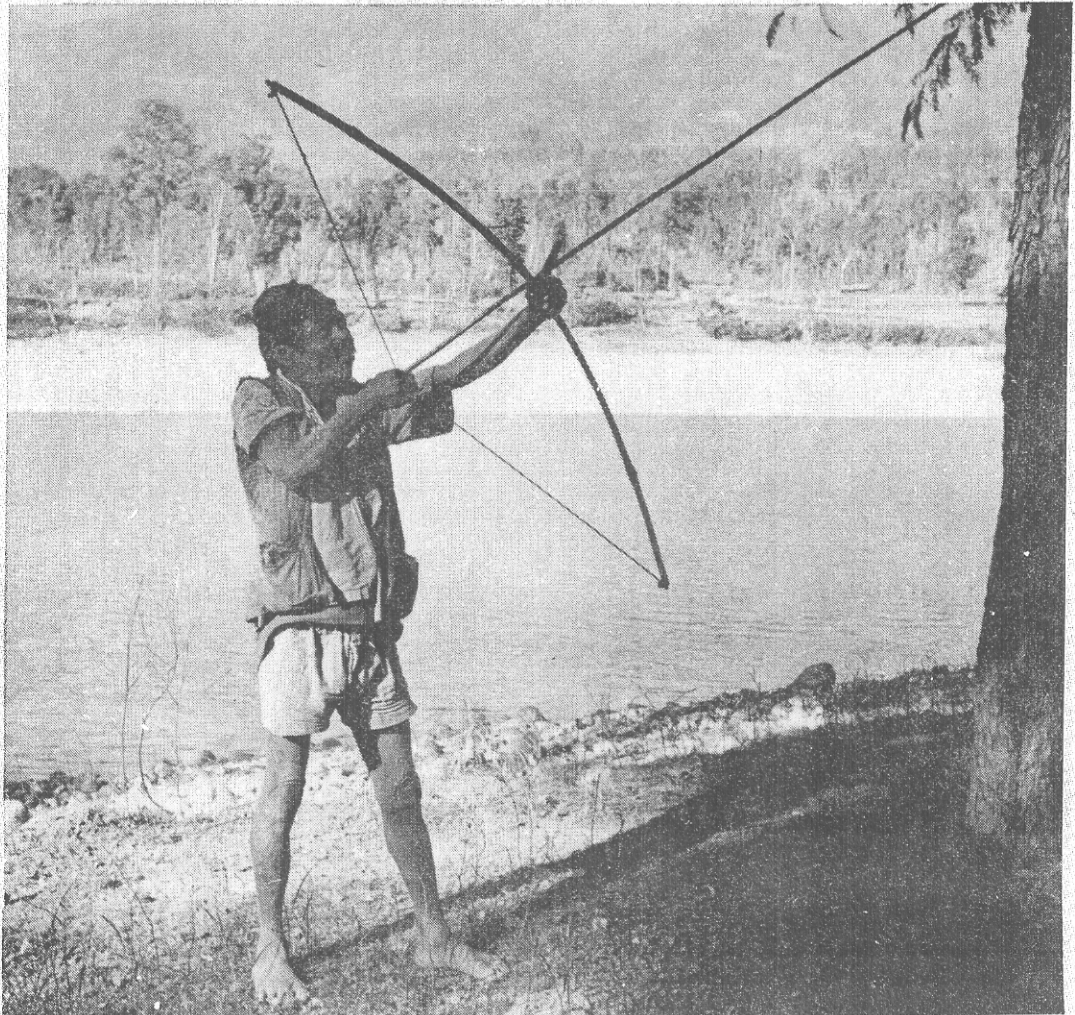




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tribhuvan university
inas

contributions to nepalese studies



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contents

The Ban Rajas - A Vanishing Himalayan Tribe	(Johan Reinhard)	1-22
The Kinship Basis of a Nepalese Rural Ward	(Ferdinand E. Okada)	23-38
The Early History of Lo (Mustang) and Ngari	(David P. Jackson)	39-56
The Origins of <u>sTod-Pa</u> : A Nyinba Clan Legend	(Nancy Levine)	57-75
Generative Phonology and the Aspirated Consonants of Colloquial Maithili.....	(Ramwatar Yadav)	77-91
Book Reviews		93-100
Mahesh C. Regmi, <u>Landownership in Nepal</u>	(L.F. Stiller, S.J.)	
Nagendra Sharma, <u>Nepali Janajivan</u>	(Navin K. Rai)	

the ban rajas- a vanishing himalayan tribe

Johan Reinhard

The Ban Raja (Forest Kings) or Kusunda have always maintained a notoriety in Nepal far out of proportion to their numbers. (1) Even a century ago they most likely did not exceed a few hundred in population. But they nonetheless have given rise to stories heard throughout Nepal, and their name is known to many a villager who never set eyes on a Ban Raja. "King's of the Forest" is a grandiose title for what today amounts to a few families widely scattered and economically impoverished. It is ironical that this tribe is becoming known just as it is disappearing as a cultural and physical entity.

In this article I will attempt to present some of the information which I have been able to gather from the few Ban Raja I met in my travels. Under the circumstances, it is difficult to speak of a Kusunda "culture", for I only had contact with a few families widely separated in Central and Western Nepal. Furthermore, the information was collected in a short time without any means of verification. The degree to which the data is representative beyond a few individual families to a wider Ban Raja society is highly questionable and only the vaguest outline of the Ban Raja culture of the past can be gleaned from the few facts available to us. Some of this information has already been published (Reinhard 1969), and this paper should be viewed as an attempt to make some of this material known to a Nepali audience and to present more recent findings.

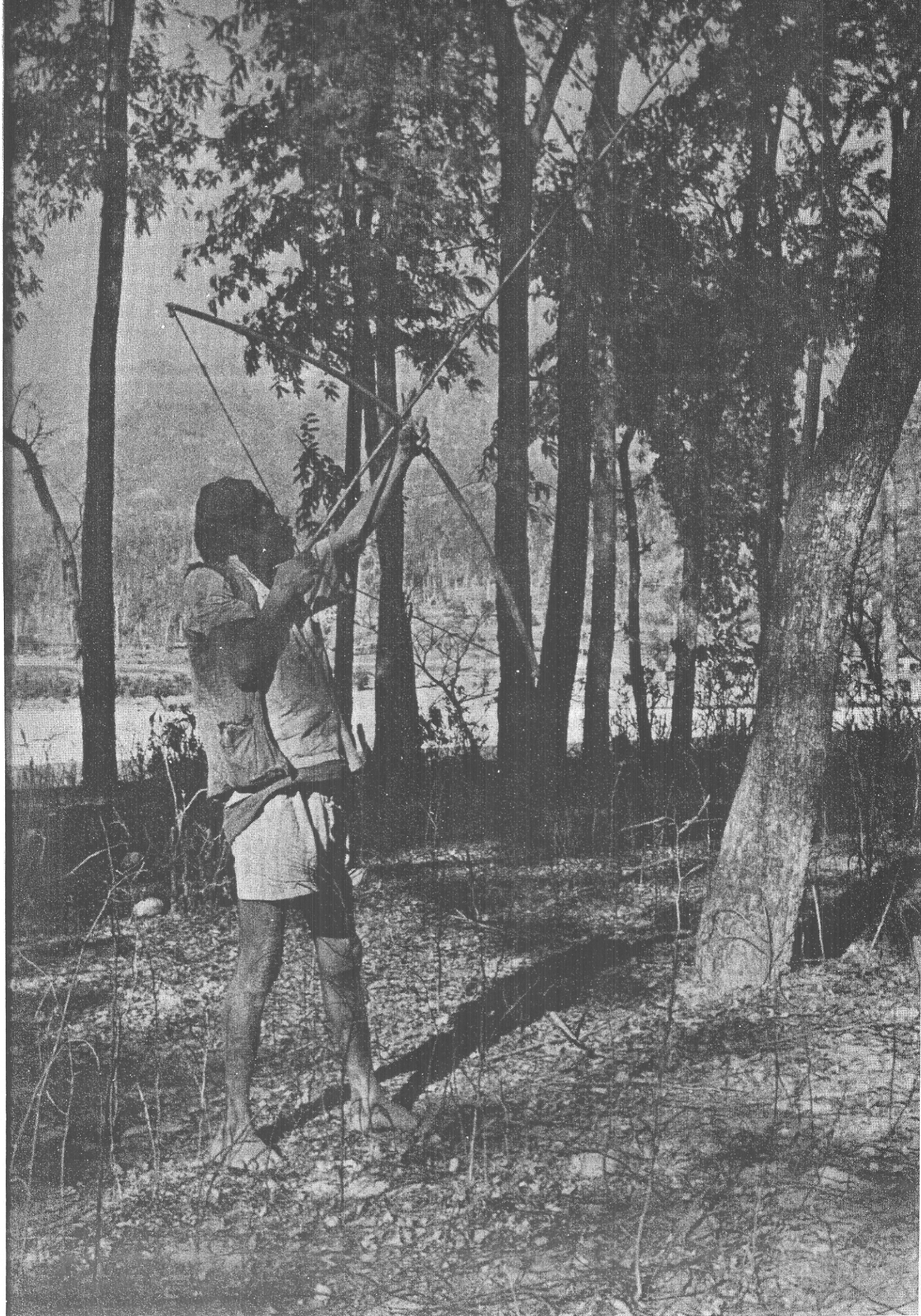
It might be well to pause here and examine what has thus far been published on the Ban Raja. First mention of them was in an article written by Brian Hodgson over a hundred years ago (1848). Although the title of his article led one to expect some information on the Ban Raja (Kusunda), he did little more than mention that he had been unable to make contact with them (Hodgson 1848, 650-651). At least he was able to give a rough idea of their way of life, however unflattering, "In short, they are altogether as near to what is usually called the state of nature as anything in human shape can well be..." (Hodgson 1848: 650). He added that they were nomadic, lived in lean-tos, and hunted game with bows and arrows. It is clear that Hodgson's linguistic assistants did manage to locate the Kusunda since he was able to publish a brief vocabulary a few years later (Hodgson 1857). This was destined to be the last original material to appear on the Kusunda for a century.

In the mid-1950's a Nepali historian (Naraharinath 1955-56: 8-9) published a short note on the Kusunda, which added a little to Hodgson's material, but being in Nepali was little known outside the country. It was left to Heine-Geldern (1958: 20-22) to note the lack of any study of the Kusunda, and his call for information was quickly answered by Nebesky - Wojkowitz (1959). He had also been unable to contact the Ban Raja, but had heard a reliable report that a few were living near Gorkha in Central Nepal. Following this lead, I located these Ban Raja in 1968 and the results of my brief stay with them have since been published (Reinhard 1969). To my knowledge no further original data has been published up to the present.

In early 1969, I came across a few Ban Raja families living in the Dang Valley in West Nepal. Unfortunately, none of those I encountered knew much about the customs of their forefathers or spoke the Ban Raja language. Most of these people were descendents of mixed marriages and were settled agriculturalists. I was able to locate a few Ban Raja in Surkhet District in 1969 and 1975, one of whom still speaks the language and hunts. It was from this man that most of my recent information was obtained. I have occasionally heard that other Ban Raja live in parts of West-Central Nepal. But even should this prove true, it seems unlikely that they will number more than a few families.

The name "Ban Raja" was apparently bestowed by villagers, who may have felt that people who could roam in, and live off, the forest were truly the masters or "kings" of it. Even today there are many villagers who dislike spending time in the forest due to a fear of spirits and wild animals. The Ban Raja prefer this name, and a few informants felt that their forefathers were indeed rulers of the forest land, just as a king rules over cultivated land. There are still a few Ban Raja who believe that they should not be held to the laws of the central government, at least as they relate to hunting.

Another term by which they are called is "Kusunda". This is a name they dislike, hardly surprising in view of its unfavorable connotations. In some areas of Nepal a man who doesn't listen to advice and behaves rudely may be called a "Kusunda". It is especially a term of abuse for the high caste Thakuri (cf. Turner 1931: 102), a caste with whom the Ban Raja claim a relationship. The etymology of the word is unclear, but one story told by Ban Raja and villagers alike is said to account for its origin. Long ago a famous sage, Balmiki, was about to begin meditating when Sita came to him and asked him to watch her baby, Lab, while she went to the river to wash. He agreed and began meditating after she had placed the baby near him. She later returned to find the sage deep in meditation. In order not to disturb him, she quietly picked up the baby and departed. After completing his meditation, Balmiki discovered the baby missing. In order to spare Sita grief at



losing her child, he fashioned an identical baby out of kus grass and brought it to life. Later Sita came by and discovered the other baby, which she then raised as her own. These two sons divided the country such that the one made originally from kus grass ruled the forest and his descendents are called Kusunda. Lab ruled the cultivated lands and his descendents are the Thakuri (cf. Bista 1972:99). Whatever the true origin of the term, the Ban Raja became known by that name in the literature primarily due to the writings of Hodgson. They refer to themselves in their own language as gilongdei mihaq (people of the forest) or simply mihaq (people). (2)

An interesting story concerning the origin of the Ban Raja was told to me by a Ban Raja in Central Nepal. Once there was a king who left his fields and water buffalo to the eldest of three sons. This son planted crops which did not grow and whenever he milked a buffalo, blood spurted out. While rubbing oil on his leg, a small black man sprang out from his thigh and vanished. The second son told his brother that because of these inauspicious signs he could not be king and must go and live in the forest. The Ban Raja are his descendents. The second son was successful in all that he did, and his descendents are the Thakuri. The story continues with the second son requiring someone to sacrifice a pig to the god Bhairab. He was unable to find anyone to do this, as people considered it the work of a low caste person. Finally, the third son performed the sacrifice, and the Magar, many of whom keep pigs today, are his descendents. In this way, the Ban Raja, Thakuri, and Magar are thought to be closely related. Ban Raja in West Nepal, however, who were unfamiliar with this story, disclaimed a relationship to the Magar. Nonetheless, all Ban Raja agreed that they are related to the Thakuri, a claim made, it might be added, by several tribes who ascribe to a high caste origin. (3)

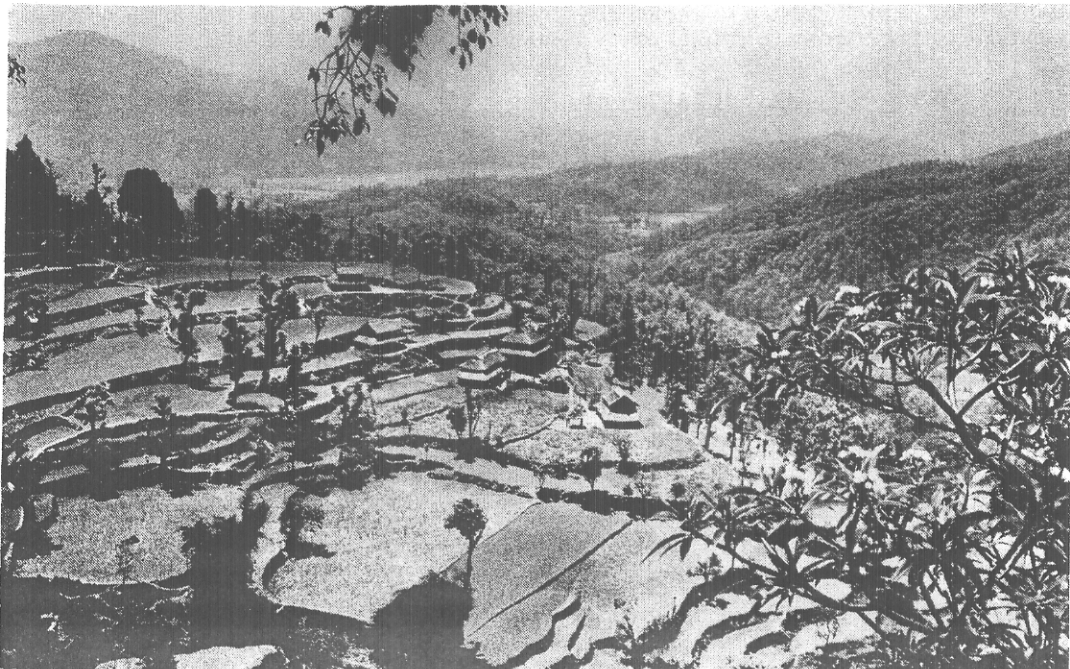
There are a considerable number of stories told by villagers about the Ban Raja, a few of which appear to be based on a confusion in some villagers minds that the Ban Raja are like the famous yeti. In central Nepal especially, I was told that Kusunda live in the high mountains, are covered with hair, kill people, and so forth. Although some villagers use the terms Kusunda and Ban Raja to refer to any nomadic hunting tribe, many realize that they should be applied to the group with which I am concerned here. Occasionally, they tell stories which clearly indicate this, such as relate to the bows and arrows used by the Ban Raja or their traditional abhorrence of cow dung. In regards to the latter, contrary to the villagers who consider cow dung as a ritually purifying substance, the Ban Raja (until recently) refused to eat any foodstuffs with which it had contact. One common story tells of villagers happening upon a place where Ban Raja had temporarily deposited tubers. The villagers smeared cow dung on them and returned the next day to collect the tubers for they knew the Ban Raja would have abandoned them. According to the Ban Raja, this custom, along with

the refusal to drink milk or use butter, has only recently been lost, i.e. after they became settled agriculturalists.

That such stories are so widespread in Nepal is probably due to the long distances which the nomadic Ban Raja covered in their travels. Indeed, one man claimed to have travelled the length of Nepal and visited India also.

Interestingly, in both areas in which I located the Ban Raja, there are tribes which are said to be their enemies. In Central Nepal, the Chepang I met claimed to still be afraid of the Ban Raja, who they felt would shoot them on sight. Such, at least, was what they had been told by their fathers. The Chepang told me that originally there were two brothers who fought over their father's possessions following his death. The descendents of the two brothers are the Chepang and Ban Raja, who have remained enemies to this day (cf. Bista 1972: 99). However, the Ban Raja denied both being related to the Chepang or being their enemies.

In West Nepal several villagers told of how the Ban Raja were the "kings" of the Raute (See Reinhard 1974:265). They were said to collect taxes from the Raute, who therefore ran off whenever a Ban Raja came into the area. Both Ban Raja and Raute denied the story but apparently Raute have not been adverse to using it to



View to the south over the Kar Khola Valley in Central Nepal. A few Ban Raja live in the village of Satobati located in the upper center of the photograph. (1968)

their advantage on occasion. They seem to have claimed that they do not have to pay money for such things as bridge crossing fees since they only have to pay taxes to the Ban Raja.

I have already noted that the Ban Raja feel related to the high caste (twice-born) Thakuri. However, villagers may have viewed such a claim in the past, at present the majority of Ban Raja are offspring of mixed marriages and/or are themselves married to members of other castes. Since these castes are normally not of the twice-born category, Ban Raja are not now considered as such.

A few Ban Raja have even gone so far as to have changed castes. In my initial inquiries in a village it was denied that any Ban Raja lived there. Eventually I learned that one man was the offspring of a Ban Raja father and a Magar mother, both of whom died when he was young. He was accepted as a Magar, has a Magar wife, and his sons have also married Magar women. They consider themselves Magar and prefer not to be reminded of their Ban Raja ancestry.

The Ban Raja also claim Thakuri clan names as their own (i.e. Singh, Sahi and Khan). Those in Central Nepal named one more clan, the Shian. That a small nomadic hunting and gathering tribe would have a developed clan system seems doubtful, and I would suspect that Thakuri clan names were simply used to further support their claim to high caste status. Their distinctive physical characteristics, language and customs would tend to support this hypothesis. The Ban Raja, like several other groups in Nepal (including the Thakuri), practise matrilineal cross-cousin marriage, i.e. where marriage to the daughter of one's mother's brother is preferred. This practise, along with others, is to some extent reflected in kinship terminology. The following is a listing of terms collected for the most part from a Ban Raja in West Nepal.

Kinship Terminology (4)

Second Ascending Generation (and above) (5)

ni'āp/ni'ep/ni'o'	FF, MF, FFF, MFF, etc.
ni'ā'	FM, MM, FMM, MMM, etc.

First Ascending Generation

yei	F
māi	M
ni'ām	MB
ni'āmbe	MBW

numu	FZ
phusāi (N)	FZH
yei mijār (6)	FoB, MoZH
māi mijārni	FoBW, MoZ
yei mijut	FyB, MyZH
māi mijutni	FyBW, MyZ
budan/gei buda	WF
bujā/gi'ogi	WM

Own Generation

Duwai	H
ni'āndai/ningdai	W
mam (7)	oB, FZoS, MZoS
bhāia' (N) (8)	yB, FZyS, MZyS
manji/mamanji	oBW
bayei'	yBW
bāi'	oZ, FZoD, MZoD
binai' (N)	yZ, FZyD, MZyD
mado/manāu'	oZH
jawāi' (N)	yZH
jethu (N)	WoB
sālā (N)	WyB
mijārni bujā/gi'ogi	WoZ
sāli (N)	WyZ
soltini (N)	MBD
jethāju (N)	HoB
dewār (N)	HyB

āmāju (N)	HoZ
nanda (N)	HyZ
samdhi (N)	SWF
samdhini (N)	SWM

First Descending Generation

dukchi/dutci/dugutsi	S
nichi/nisi/ninyitsi	D
bai'	SW
jawāi (N)/nichī bhanjā' (N)	DH
bhatijo (N)	BS
bhatiji (N)	BD
bhānjā' (N)	ZS
bhānji (N)	ZD

Second Descending Generation (and Below)

nāti (N)	SS, SD, SSS, SSD, etc.
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Since the above represents primarily only one informant's listing of terms, and is incomplete at that, no attempt at analysis or more formal presentation has been made here.

The Ban Raja disclaimed any traditional practice of patrilineal cross-cousin marriage (i.e. marriage with one's father's sister's daughter), but due to a scarcity of marriageable women, it was tolerated in recent times. Behaviour patterns between relatives were said to follow that of the Thakuri, e.g. a joking relationship with one's mother's brother's daughter, a respect relationship with one's younger brother's wife and wife's parents, and so forth.

Obviously none of the above social characteristics serve to distinguish the Ban Raja from their neighbours to any great extent. Bow and arrow hunting and a nomadic life style are the features which traditionally set off the Ban Raja from others. I found that only a few still hunt today, and even they are dependent on odd jobs and working in fields for a part of their subsistence. Most Ban Raja have become settled - agriculturalists and have little knowledge of hunting techniques. Those that do hunt normally search

for birds, such as pheasants, jungle fowl, partridges and peacocks. Often during the day they will note the location of bird droppings and return at dark to shoot the birds while they roost. Indeed, hunting at night, using a bundle of dry twigs to make a torch, is a favorite technique. Although small game, such as squirrels, may be shot, the Ban Raja rarely shoot larger animals, such as deer, primarily as they are too difficult to bring down.

The Ban Raja bow is typical of those found in Asia, being simply constructed of bamboo. The unfeathered arrow, however, is rather unique due to its great length (ca. 160 cm.). This is said to make the arrow more accurate. The iron arrowhead is made by village blacksmiths. Most Ban Raja denied using poison on their arrows, but a shaman did claim to apply poison after first making it effective with a spell. Although some Ban Raja now possess pellet bows, they are not used for serious hunting. Since other hunting implements (traps, nets, etc.) are not traditionally used by the Ban Raja, the bow is their sole hunting tool.

In the past if there was a surplus of game shot - and apparently only 30-40 years ago game was easily obtainable - the Ban Raja would trade it in village for grain foods. Before settling, they gained their subsistence through such hunting and trade, aside from gathering forest produce. The tubers; Dioscorea daemonia and Dioscorea sativa were important staples in their diet. They did little or no fishing. In difficult times, they were forced by necessity to beg in villages.

While nomadic, the Ban Raja slept under rock overhangs or built simple lean-tos of branches and leaves. They would camp as long as the hunting and trading possibilities warranted, then move on to another area. Gradually, as the population in the hills expanded, more land was brought under cultivation and accompanying this was an increase in deforestation, overgrazing, burning of the forest to provide fresh foliage for cattle, and an increase in hunting and gathering by villagers. This meant a less secure subsistence base for the Ban Raja, who apparently first began to work as part-time labourers and then eventually became settled agriculturalists. According to the Ban Raja, before this process was completed, bands split up with families going their separate ways in order to avoid having to settle. The result is that there is little contact between the few Ban Raja left alive today.

As mentioned earlier, a few Ban Raja do still hunt, but it will doubtless be only a few more years before they abandon hunting completely. This was brought home to me when a Ban Raja insisted on removing the bow string and arrow head in order that the bow and arrow would only appear as sticks to passerbys. Villagers tend to ridicule the Ban Raja when they see them with bows and arrows and local officials have been known to confiscate them.

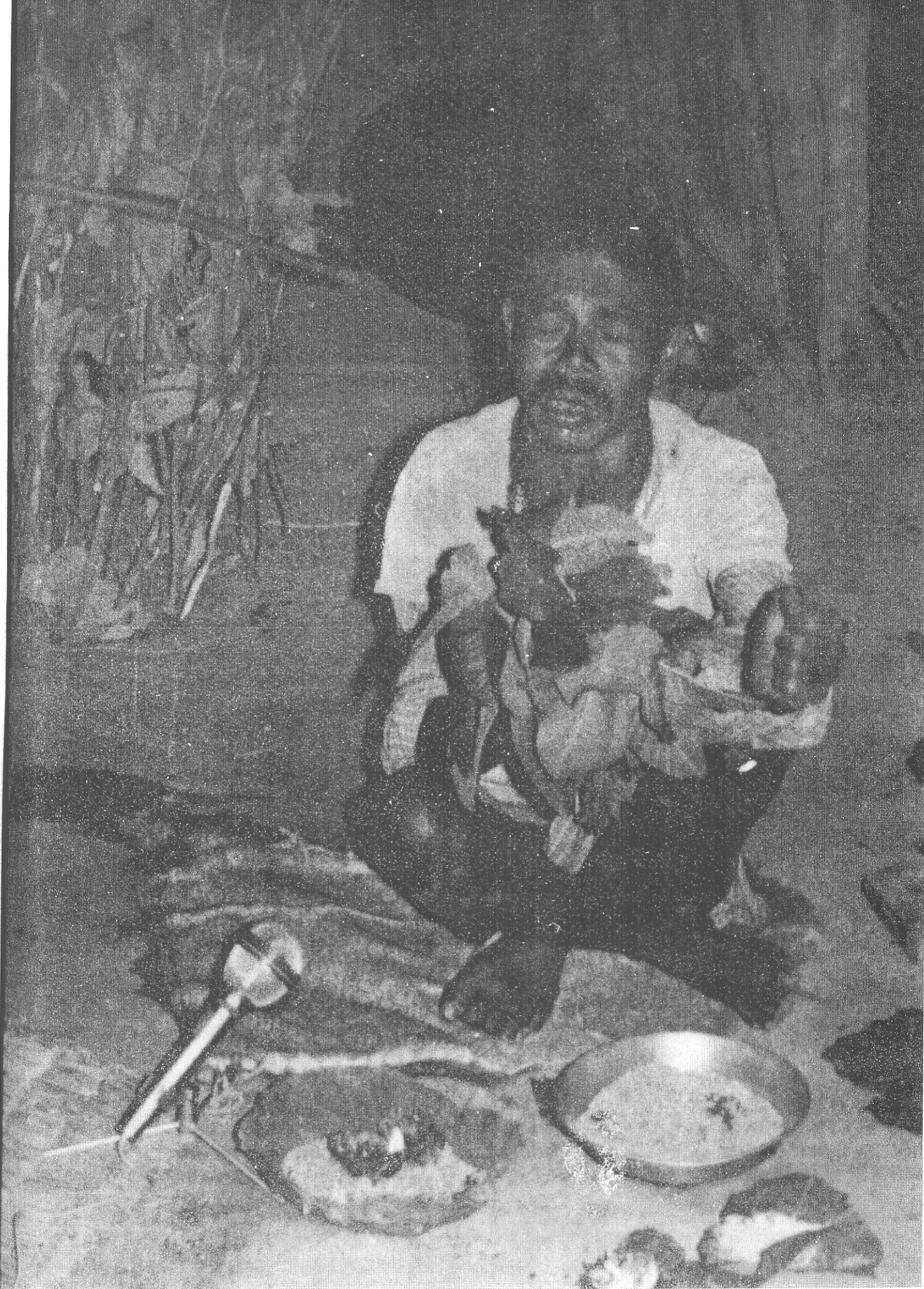
Let us turn now to rituals associated with life cycle events. Since these are said to parallel those of villagers, they will only be summarily treated here. Unlike many villagers, the Ban Raja bury their dead. The body is carried strapped to a pole to a place near a river where men gather to dig the grave. Informants disagreed as to whether or not a man's hunting equipment would be left with the body. One informant claimed that if it was, the dead man's spirit would use the bow to shoot people. Personal utensils and uncooked rice are normally left behind, however, and the Ban Raja claimed to observe a 13 day mourning period.

At birth, there was said to be a purification of the mother and baby following eleven days of pollution. Unlike some villagers, the Ban Raja claimed not to have a naming ceremony at this time. Most Ban Raja disagreed with an informant who claimed that they observe a first rice feeding ceremony and have an initiation ceremony for boys at puberty.

Weddings are said to be simple affairs, normally arranged by the parents. Child marriage is unknown and not infrequently a boy and girl will simply elope. A wedding usually consists of the groom and a small group of his friends and relatives bringing the bride from her home after having first given presents of clothing and jewellery to the bride and perhaps a small amount of money to her parents. Divorce and widow remarriage are both allowed.

Although none of the rituals observed with life cycle events could be observed, I was able to witness a few of the practises of a Ban Raja shaman. I found no Ban Raja shaman in Central Nepal and Ban Raja there obtain the services of village shamans in times of serious illness. The same holds true for most Ban Raja in West Nepal, for the sole shaman I found in the area lives too far away to be of any use to them. This shaman, however, is called by villagers and gains a small income for his work. The ability to become voluntarily possessed by a tutelary spirit - a distinguishing characteristic of a shaman - is not inheritable. Each potential shaman is first involuntarily possessed by a spirit. Later the person (females could also be shamans) learns the necessary spells, gains the ability to become possessed at will and eventually becomes a practising shaman without, however, having to undergo a formal initiation.

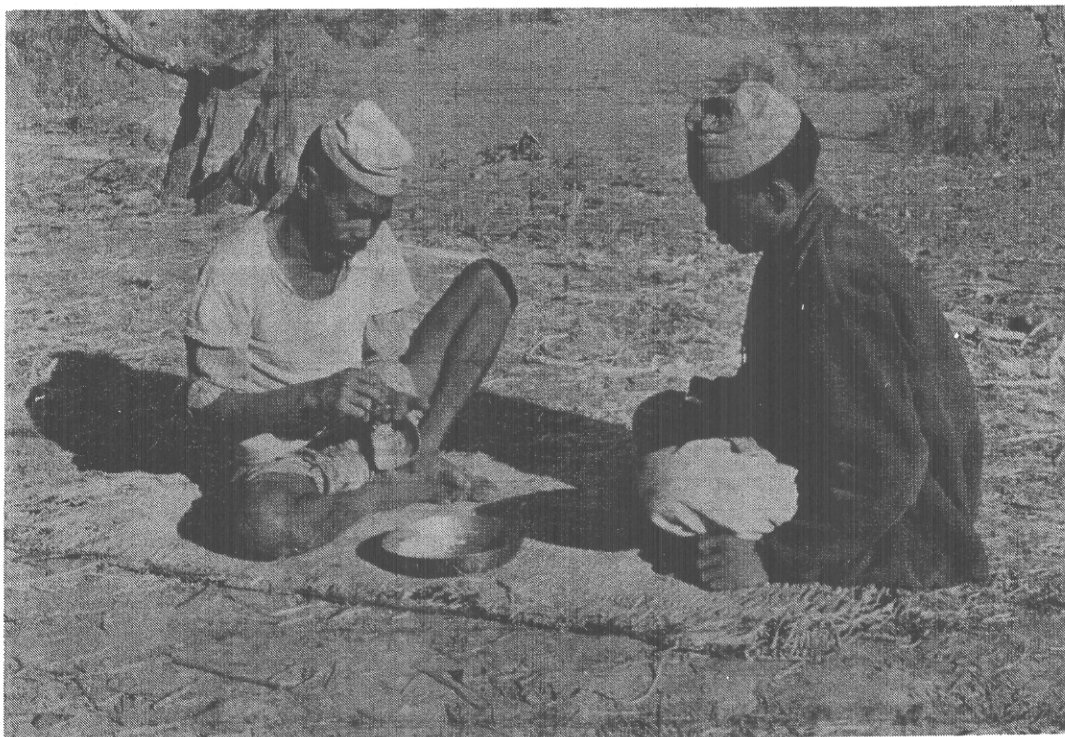
In curing illnesses the Ban Raja shaman uses several methods of divination, the most common of which utilizes rice. A spell is blow on hulled rice which has been taken from a pile and counted. Depending upon the odd or even outcome of a series of such countings, a supernatural category will be found responsible and the necessary offerings will have to be made. If a witch has caused the illness, the shaman claimed he was able to cause the witch to contract the same disease. The shaman also divines by feeling the circulation of blood in a hand. He notes in which part of which finger the blood circulation is abnormal and makes his diagnosis accordingly.



For simple cures the shaman may make a jantra, which involves sketching sacred drawings and writing a mantra on a piece of paper. More elaborate jantras may also contain a "medicine", e.g. a piece of a plant, and be passed through incense. A spell is said on it after it has been bound, and it is then tied around the neck or wrist of the patient.

The shaman claimed to know a large variety of spells, including love spells (which he feels he used too often in his youth) and spells to "bind" the jungle. These latter spells serve to protect him from spirits and wild animals and also cause other hunters to have bad luck while in the area. Some of the spells may be used on their own to cure a disease, but for serious cases a seance is necessary.

Seances normally take place at night. A small area is cleared and water sprinkled around to purify it. Sal (Shorea robusta) leaves are used to make a mat for the shaman to sit on. Other items necessary for the seance are made ready by the patients family. After the shaman has washed, he offers a libation of liquor to his tutelary deity and drinks a little himself. He lights a small oil lamp and throws hulled rice in 4 directions, as he says a spell. In the course of offering incense, he circles his necklaces (one of seeds of Sapindus mukerossi and one of iron) through the smoke. A plate containing a rice offering is next waved through the incense smoke and rice is again thrown in the four directions (to bind them and his body from evil spirits). Next, several boughs from the sal tree



The shaman on the left is performing divination with rice.
(West Nepal 1969)

are held in both hands, while a spell is spoken on them. They are then circled above the lamp and incense. The shaman chants and occasionally hits himself with the boughs for a few minutes before he begins to shake violently, indicating that he is possessed. The deity enters his body through his head and bystanders now ask it questions as to the cause of the illness and what should be done. After the questioning is completed, the deity abruptly leaves.

Such seances are quite common in the middle hills region of Nepal and nothing seems particularly unique to the Ban Raja. Since the shaman works exclusively with villagers as clients, this is perhaps hardly surprising. (9)

Unfortunately the shaman was not very consistent in his naming and description of the deities which he calls at the seance. However, he frequently calls Bhuiyar, Ban Jhankri, Arimal, and Gwang. He associated the latter two with hunting and claimed that at the time new bows and arrows are constructed they should be consecrated in a ritual for Gwang. (10)

This ritual usually involves simple offerings of vermilion powder, oil, hulled rice, red and white strips of cloth, and liquor. Soon after the sun rises, these items are taken, along with bows and arrows, to a place away from the village. A small area is cleared and stones are placed in the center. The bows and arrows are tied together with the strips of cloth as a prayer is said to Gwang. Rice and vermilion powder are placed in each of four quadrants formed by tracing a cross on a stone. The bows and arrows are circled above an offering of incense and a libation of liquor is made. Vermilion powder is placed on the bows and arrows and, after a salutation is made to Gwang, tika (auspicious markings) are applied to those present. It is thought that following this ritual Gwang eats the essence of any game killed.

The Ban Raja varied considerably in their religious practises, normally worshipping deities common to the area in which they resided. Most claimed to worship, however, at the two Dasain festivals, performing sacrifices for Durga and ancestor spirits. They all worship Qaoli, thought by some either to be a deity in its own right or by others to be the Ban Raja term for "deity" (and "ancestor spirit"). The ritual I witnessed in Central Nepal was said to be both for Qaoli (as a separate deity) and for ancestor spirits. This was a simple ritual involving offerings of hulled rice, incense and the sacrifice of chickens, all at a stone at the base of a sal sapling. The prohibition against the use of cow dung to purify the site was the only unusual element of the ritual, and is obviously a remnant from the days when all cow products were shunned by the Ban Raja.

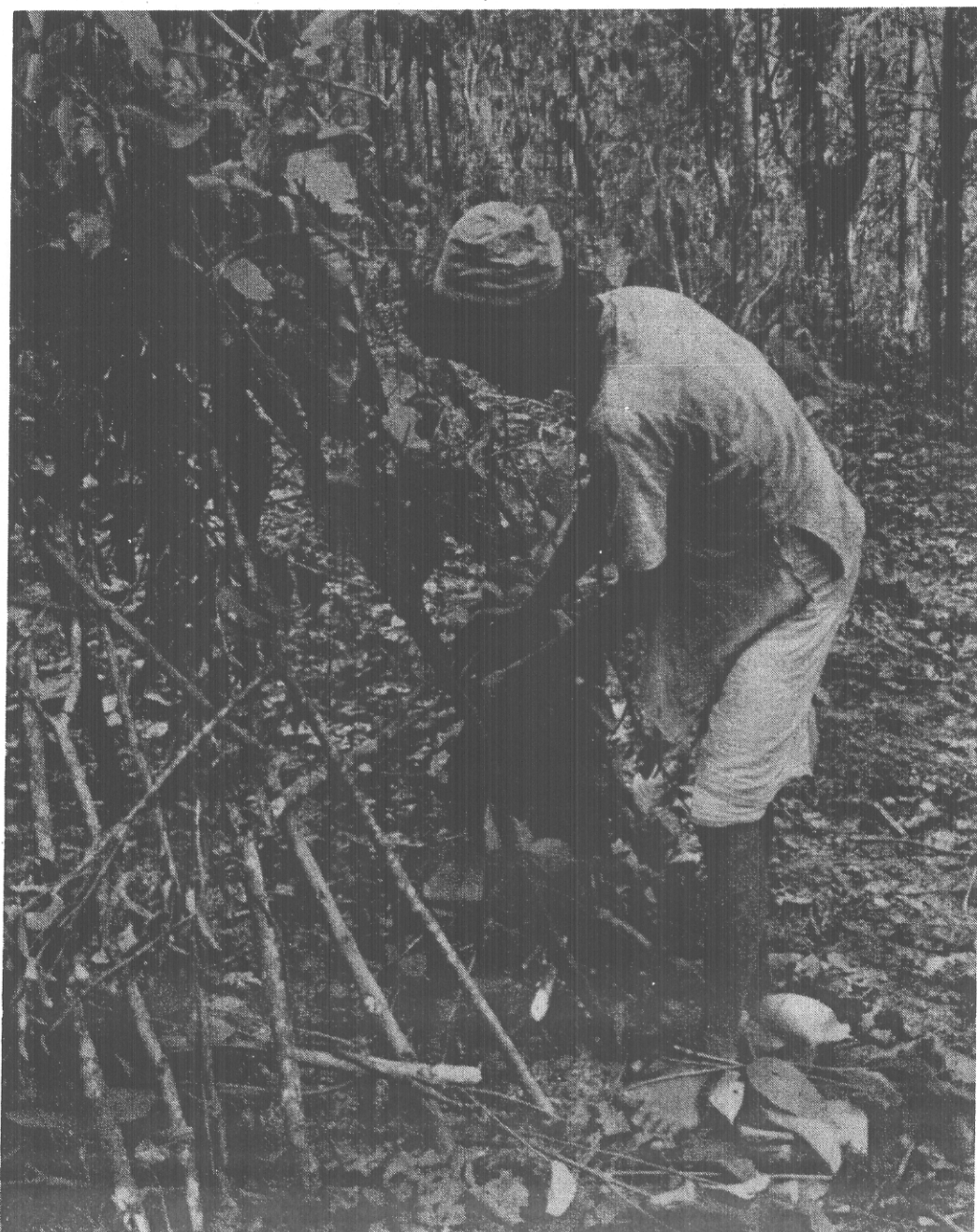
Turning now to the language of the Ban Raja we encounter something which marks them as truly unique in our knowledge of Asian tribes. The Ban Raja appear to speak a language which is unrelated to any major language family. Originally, Hodgson (1857) had published his Kusunda (Ban Raja) vocabulary with Tibeto-Burman and Indo-European vocabularies without comment. Later, in the Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson 1909: 399 - 405), Kusunda was classified as a member of the complex pronominalized languages of the Tibeto-Burman family. Robert Shafer (1954: 10-12) was the first to notice the uniqueness of the language, but could base his conclusions only on the basis of a limited vocabulary comparison. I too could find no correlation with any major language family on the basis of vocabulary, although there were some obvious Nepali loan words and a few terms of probable Tibeto-Burman origin. (11)

I initially thought, however, that the Ban Raja language might be related to the Mundic languages, since it shared a feature many linguists considered to be characteristic of that family. (12) This feature is called pronominalization, because the pronoun, or more commonly a segment of the pronoun, is affixed to the verb. It has more recently been ruled out as an archaic Mundic characteristic by some linguists (e.g. Holmer 1963). There appears to be a consensus now that pronominalization can not be exclusively associated with any one language family. (13)



Making offerings to ancestor spirits. (Central Nepal 1968).

This means that the Ban Raja language is probably one of only two languages in Asia to be unrelated to a major language family, and thus must be of considerable importance to linguists. (14) The fact that there are only a few speakers left alive - indeed I personally know of only two - indicates just how urgent it is that research be conducted in the near future. (15) It is hoped that this article will serve as a stimulus to some researcher to undertake work with the Ban Raja before a tribe unique in Asia will indeed have "vanished".



Construction of a lean-to. (Central Nepal 1968)

1. The research upon which this article is based was supported by grants from the Wenner - Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and the Austrian Academy of Sciences. To both of these organizations I would like to express my sincere gratitude. Tape recordings of the Kusunda (Ban Raja) language and of a shaman seance are available from the Phonogrammarchiv der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Liebiggasse 5, A-1010 Vienna. Short films of the Kusunda hunting, constructing a lean-to and performing a ritual consecration of hunting equipment are available from the Institut f.d. Wissenschaftlichen Film, Nonnenstieg 72, 34 Goettingen, West Germany.
2. Mihaq refers to the Ban Raja whereas niyu refers to people in general.
3. One tribe, the Magar, claim a relationship with the Thakuri based upon a similar myth. For a story told by a Thakuri as to how they may have been related to the Ban Raja see Reinhard (1969: 99-100).
4. F=father, M=mother, Z=sister, B=brother, H=husband, W=wife, D=daughter, S=son, o=older, y=younger. Thus, e.g., MBW means mother's brother's wife and oZh means older sister's husband.
5. Unfortunately informants were inconsistent in their use of terms for relatives of the second generation and above. The terms listed here were those used most consistently. Significant variants have also been listed.
6. Mijar (-ni) = older; mijut (-ni) = younger.
7. One informant stated that MBS should be called "B", one felt he could be called either "B" or "solti", and one insisted that he be called "WB" irrespective of whether or not matrilineal cross-cousin marriage had taken place.
8. An N in brackets indicates that the term is of obvious Nepali origin.
9. For interesting comparative data see Hitchcock and Jones (1976).
10. I was able to observe this ritual, but should note that other Ban Raja were unfamiliar with it, and for that matter with Gwang and Arimal.
11. In a mimeographed article (Reinhard and Toba 1970) a preliminary phonemic and partial tagmemic analysis were made. This unfortunately was based on very little data, is incomplete, and contains several errors. It should be stressed that linguistic work with the Ban Raja has hardly begun.

12. In my article of 1969 I referred to the distinguishment between animate and inanimate objects in the verb. Later research proved this to be incorrect.
13. See Bauman (1974) for further information on pronominalization, especially in regards to an argument for its independent development among some Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages (cf. also Walters 1975).
14. Shafer (1954: 10-12) notes that along with Kusunda, Burushaski and Nahali are unrelated to any major language families. Nahali's position, however, is still unclear (see Pinnow 1963: 151).
15. To the best of my knowledge one Ban Raja speaker still lives in the village of Satobati near Gorkha and one lives in a small village near Sahre in the south-eastern corner of Surkhet district. I was also told there was a fluent speaker in a village north of Ghorai in the Dang Valley.

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Appendix - Swadish 100 Word List

The transcription of terms is only approximate. See Reinhard and Toba 1970 for a broad phonetic transcription. Significant variants obtained from different informants have been listed. Several of these terms could not be checked, and therefore the list should not be considered definitive.

1. I	tshi	23. tree	ii
2. thou	nu	24. seed	gitak
3. we	to'i/to'ābi	25. leaf	hāq
4. this	nā	26. root	itaq
5. that	yit/it	27. bark	gitat
6. who	nātāi	28. skin	gitat
7. what	nātān/ātān	29. flesh	āmbā'/gepau
8. not	āyewā/ānio	30. blood	uyu
9. all	khānye/swate	31. bone	guwu
10. many	manyi	32. grease	ga'ā
11. one	qāsadan/'a'sun	33. egg	goā/gwā
12. two	dukhu'	34. horn	ipi gijin ^o
13. big	dandā'	35. tail	yānson ^o
14. long	sara	36. feather (plumage)	giyi/gi'iyi
15. small	hunqwan/hunqui	37. hair	ipigii
16. woman	ninyi yātsi	38. head	ipi
17. man	doe yātsi	39. ear	iyāo'/iwo
18. person	niyu	40. eye	inin ^o
19. fish	nasā'	41. nose	ināu'
20. bird	gotu	42. mouth	utā/'ā'tā'
21. dog	āgāi	43. tooth	uhu
22. (body)louse	ki'	44. tongue	ijin ^o

45. fingernail	āushi'	69. (I) stand	dontso'anan
46. foot	yien/iwān	70. (I) give	iatānan
47. knee	tuputu	71. (I) say	ātsāunan
48. hand	āibi	72. sun	in°/yin°
49. belly	imāt	73. moon	niho'
50. neck	hānki	74. star	sā'nām
51. breasts	āmbu'	75. water	tān°
52. heart	qubioq	76. rain	tāngiwān
53. liver	qāmu	77. stone	wāu/yaŋgu'
54. (I) drink	tsoñanan	78. sand	gali
55. (I) eat	tāmanan	79. earth	duwu/du
56. (it) bites	kamji	80. cloud	dhulin°
57. (I) see	tso'anan/ tsāñanan	81. smoke	dhimi/duni°
58. (I) hear	māunbatan	82. fire	jā'
59. (I) know	tsinjitān/ tānuqā'anan	83. ash	jāi/jāyi
60. (I) sleep	tsibnan/ tshimnan	84. (I) burn	hābatanan
61. (I) die	to'āiwān	85. path	un
62. (he) kills	plāqanji	86. mountain	yihā'
63. (I) swim	tān° gan tsi yā'ānan	87. red	bāun°
64. (it) flies	huwuji	88. green	hariyo (N)
65. (I) walk	tsā' anan	89. yellow	kāpāun/qāpan°
66. (I) come	tutā' anan	90. white	qāsi
67. (I) lie (down)	māran°	91. black	pāsīdāi
68. (I) sit	bhintsaunan	92. night	in° gāi
		93. hot	boq
		94. cold (wet)	kangu

95. full	qomba	96. new	jindai/jina'i
97. good	wein/wayai	98. round	thorin
99. dry	qāiwān	100. name	giji



the kinship basis of a nepalese rural ward¹

Ferdinand E. Okada

The rationale for this paper is that, just as a physician has a knowledge of the anatomy (structure) and physiology (function and processes) of the human body, it is necessary for rural development planners and workers to have a knowledge of the structure of rural Nepal and the functions and processes of its various parts. Perhaps a better way of putting it, since large quantum of information already exists among Nepalese planners and among researchers, is that this knowledge deserves to be consciously systematized, written down and disseminated for application in national development planning.

It is also suggested that in carrying out rural development projects, rather than approaching the population of a delimited area as an undifferentiated mass, an awareness of its structure in terms of kinship and localization can facilitate such work. It enables, for example, quick identification in a given location of leaders and other influential people who can spur or, if they feel ignored, hinder projects, recognition of lines of authority and communication within groups, assessment of the strength of possible alliances or, conversely, factions among the groups, estimation of manpower resources available for a project since cooperative labor within kin groups is necessary to release them, utilization of blood or marriage linkages among groups in different locations to give momentum to projects, and so on.

Further, the awareness of the possibility of the existence of kin groups each inhabiting a distinct locality or neighbourhood carries significant implications for surveys based on population samples whether random or cluster or stratified.

This paper discusses an aspect of the social structure of rural Nepal: the kinship basis of a rural ward. Its argument is that, with particular reference to the pahad or midland Hills Zone of Nepal,² the rural ward is basically composed of several patrilineages or unilateral descent groups in the male line which typically cluster together in a given section, neighbourhood or locality of the ward. These localities almost invariably have a name and are called "villages" in common parlance, not altogether in error since they were often discrete entities³ before their incorporation into a new administrative system in 1961. Conceivably a ward may be made up of one patrilineage. More usual, however, is that the maximum size of a patrilineage in one locality is about a dozen or 15 households; thus, a simple generalization is that the larger the ward, the more the number of patrilineages found in it. There is a general population limit imposed on the size of the ward since nine of them (each numbered from 1 to 9) make up a gaon panchayat (or Village Council) area, the basic self-contained administrative unit

in the Nepalese system of local self-government. Most gaon panchayat areas conform more-or-less to a population requirement of about 2,500 for its establishment (Kaphley, 1967: 71). Much larger ones, however, are sometimes found as, for example, Chitlang Gaon Panchayat Area in Makwanpur District which had in 1971 a population of 7,152 divided into 1,303 households (HMG, 1973: 3:136), an average of 145 households per ward. The general trend, however, appears to be for a pahad ward to have between 30 and 70 households.⁴ In any case, whatever its size may be the ward is a component of, and the smallest identifiable administrative unit in, the gaon panchayat area.

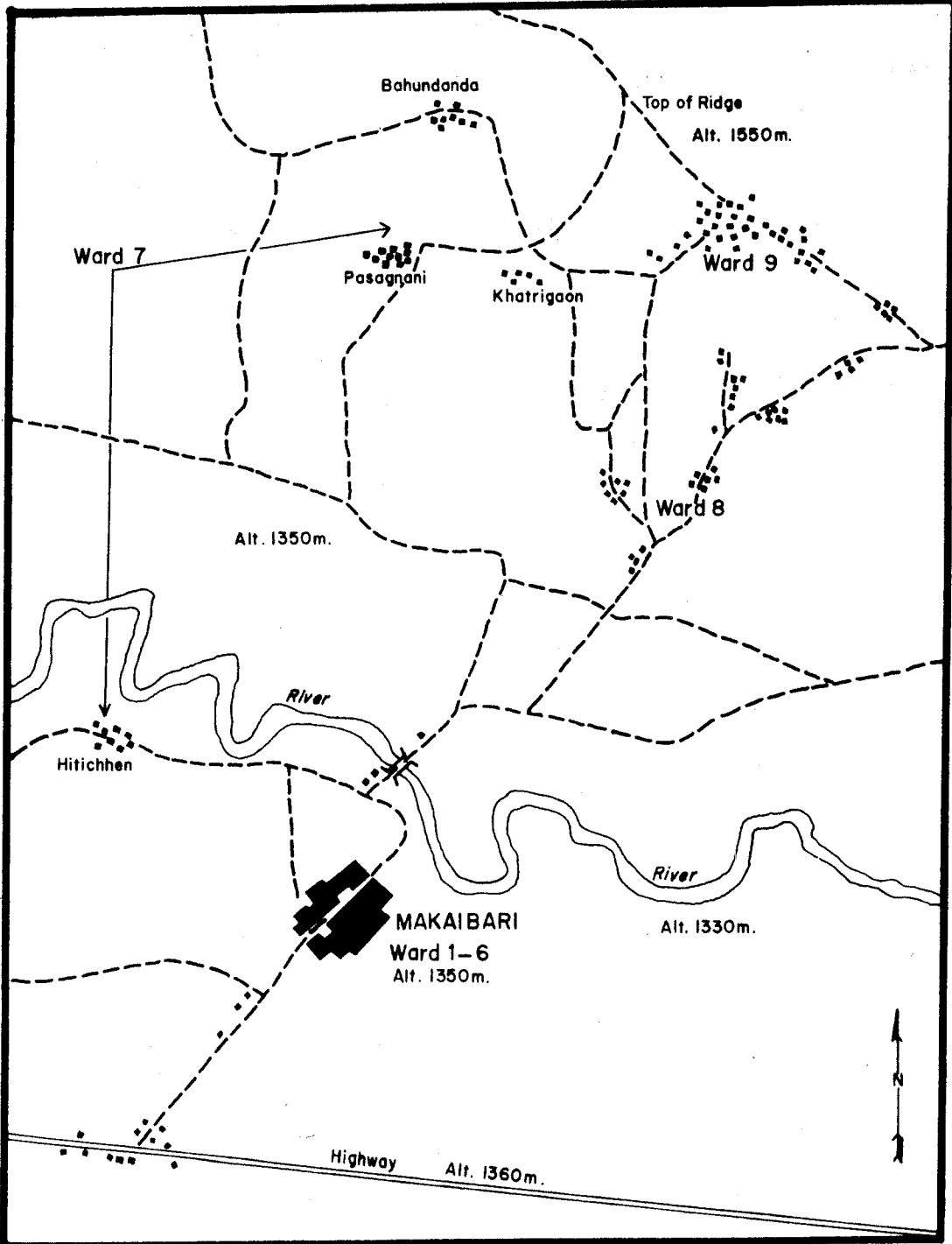
One noticeable feature of the gaon panchayat area is that specific ethnic groups, castes and sub-castes tend to cluster in certain wards. This becomes quickly apparent, of course, for those groups which happen to be in the minority in a given gaon panchayat area. In Janagal, Kavre Palanchok District, predominantly Chhetri in caste, all the 22 households of the Sarki caste were found concentrated in Ward 8 - and at least 14 of them belonged to the Mijar sub-caste, the implication being that they formed one kin group. Also in Ward 8 were 24 Chhetri households and 20 of them were of the Thapa sub-caste. Out of 46 Chhetri households in Ward 1, 18 were of the Khadka sub-caste and 15 of the Khatri. Thirty of the 34 ethnic Tamang families in Janagal resided in Ward 5, as did all the few Damai caste families found.

Again, in Deupur, Parbat District, all of its 23 Thakuri households were located in Ward 1 and 21 of them were of the Hamal sub-caste. About half of Deupur's Chhetri households, 36, were living in Ward 7 and all were Khadka-Chhetri. Thirty-five of the 43 ethnic Gurung households were found in Ward 9.

These examples can be repeated time and again in the gaon panchayat areas of the Pahad Zone and in order to analyze the situation more closely, a rural ward was selected in a gaon panchayat area which will be called Makaibari. The ward chosen will be designated as Ward 7. (See Sketch plan.)

Makaibari lies within the Valley of Kathmandu in Central Nepal on one of the motorable roads that radiate out from the capital city of Kathmandu. Part of it, comprising Wards 1 to 6, a compact settlement, with some scattered houses on and near the highway, is situated on a river terrace at an altitude of about 1,350 meters. With the exception of one locality (to be known as Hitichhen) of Ward 7, which lies west of Makaibari proper, the remainder, three wards, lies on the slopes and top of a ridge across the river to the north. In June, 1971, Makaibari had a population of 2,604 divided into 412 households. Ward 7 was then composed of 234 people in 39 households (HMG, 1973: 3:110). Four years later, there was scarcely any change numerically in Ward 7: in June, 1975, 235 people and 40 households were counted in a house-to-house survey.

SKETCH PLAN OF MAKAIBARI GAON PANCHAYAT AREA
(Ward 7 is Comprised of Bahundanda, Pasagnani, Khatrigaon and Hitichhen)



LEGEND

- Village
- Highway
- Footpath
- River
- Bridge

Approximate Altitude in Meters.



Approx. Scale

The clustering of these 40 households in four different localities seemed to offer a clear-cut model of the hypothesis submitted in this paper. It was hoped that investigation would reveal the basic pattern of the kin structure of a rural ward, a pattern which would be applicable to the understanding of other rural wards, although with permutations and changes in detail. In the event, it turned out that each locality was indeed inhabited by a distinct ethnic or caste group and each was also a kinship grouping.

Table: Groups in Ward 7, Makaibari

Locality*	Population No. and %	Households No. and %	Language Group	Religion	Ethnic group/ caste
Pasagnani	78 (33.0)	15 (37.5)	Newari	Hindu	Newar (Shrestha)
Hitichhen	62 (26.5)	12 (30.0)	Newari	Buddhist	Newar (Tandukar)
Bahundanda	60 (25.5)	8 (20.0)	Nepali	Hindu	Brahmin (Poudyal)
Khatrigaon	35 (15.0)	5 (12.5)	Nepali	Hindu	Chhetri (Khatri)

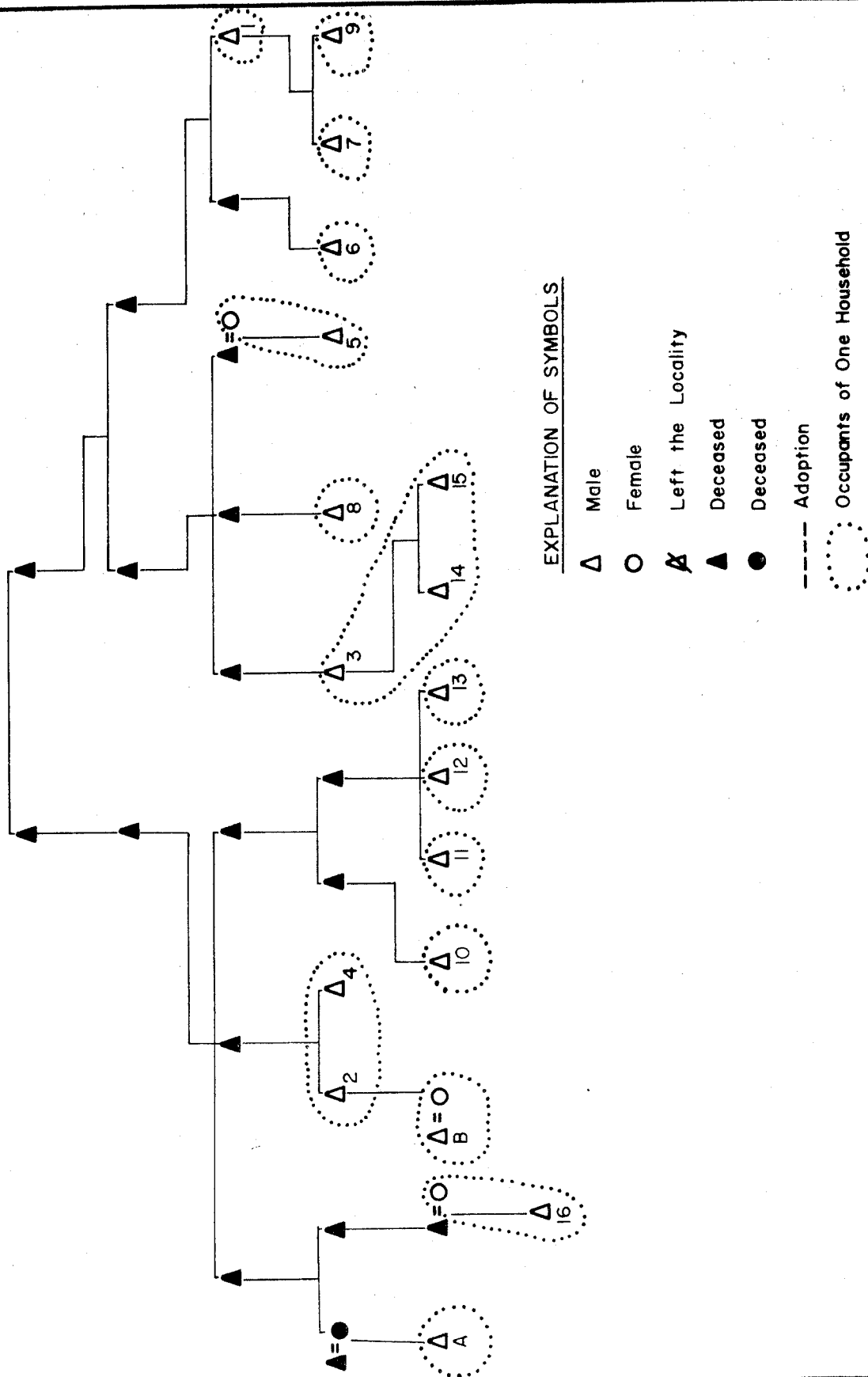
*The names are fictitious.

The basic kin organization in all four groups was the patrilineage, khala (Newari) or santan (Nepali). While the santan is a unilateral descent group, there are elements of bilaterality in the khala which, however, do not affect its basic patrilineity, as will appear in the following discussion.

First, however, a word on the accompanying diagrams which show the relationship among the heads-of-household of each group. The oldest living male in the household has been designated as its head though, in some cases, his widowed mother may live with him and claim the title. People, living or dead, not essential to the discussion have been eliminated. Nor are unmarried daughters and minor children shown; with the exception of a widow with a 20-year old unmarried son among the Shrestha, the last generation in each group, therefore, does not appear in the diagrams. Counting the original settler in the locality as the first generation, three groups, Shrestha, Tandukar and Poudyal, are six generations deep. The Khatri santan has a depth of five generations.

The headman (Nepali: thakali) of each lineage has been designated as No. 1 in the diagrams. The remaining numbers indicate the order of succession to this post and it runs in order of seniority of generation and of age within the generation.⁵ It will be noted

DIAGRAM I: THE SHRESTHA OF PASAGNANI



that brothers may live together in one household, in which case the elder is considered its head, and that married sons who live with their father (who is the head-of-household) have been assigned numbers which reflect their positions on the roll of succession to the lineage headship.

And lastly: the Shrestha patrilineage is discussed in more detail than the others because it is the largest one in Ward 7 and because its patrilineal structure is replicated by, or at least clarifies, the others.

The Shrestha Khala (Diagram 1)

The Shrestha of Pasagnani Locality are divided into 15 households the heads of which, with the exception of two, are descended in the male line from a common male ancestor. This ancestor was the father of two brothers (the first generation in the diagram) who came to settle in Pasagnani; how long ago is indirectly indicated by the fact that the oldest survivor of the lineage, a great granddaughter born in 1896 of the elder brother, is still living in Pharping Town⁶ whither she had gone in marriage. Six heads-of-household (Nos. 2, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 16) claim direct descent from this elder brother and seven, including the lineage headman, are descended from the younger (Nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9).

The remaining two heads-of-households, A and B, trace their connections through a mother and a wife respectively but are not afforded the full privileges of the lineage; in fact B is a virtual outsider and is included in lineage affairs, when he is, more as a matter of courtesy than of right.

Though of senior status in the lineage, being third in line of succession to the headship, No. 4 is not designated as a head-of-household as he lives with his elder brother, No. 2. No. 2, a widower in his seventies, could conceivably live with his daughter who resides in Pasagnani but presumably does not wish to do so because her husband is B, referred to above. No. 3, also a widower in his seventies, lives with his two married sons, Nos. 14 and 15. Living with his 45-year old widowed mother is No. 16 who, though unmarried, is 20 years old; he has therefore been designated a head-of-household. His mother does run the household in fact but she cannot represent it in certain lineage ritual affairs.

Though two males (Nos. 2 and 3 in the fourth generation) are older than he, No. 1 is lineage head by virtue of his being the sole surviving male member of the third generation, the youngest grandson, born in 1912, of the younger of the two original settlers. Two other representatives of his generation are his wife and the widow of a classificatory brother, the mother of No. 5. As lineage head he is the spokesman for, and representative of, the group (as for example when dealing with khala composed of more distant kinsmen in other locations) and oversees the social and religious aspects of

lineage life. Lineage meetings are held in his house and he leads the regular ceremony of worship to the lineage deity. He is also head of the funeral guthi or association of Pasagnani, an association which makes the necessary arrangements when a member dies and extends the necessary aid, financial or otherwise, to the surviving members of the household. That this guthi is not necessarily strictly organized along lineage lines is indicated by the fact that both A and B are also members.

One of those older than the lineage head, No. 2 in the fourth generation, is the oldest surviving male. He was born in 1899 and is regarded as the sage of the lineage to whom people go for advice on, and discussion of, usually personal, not lineage, matters. Though the other nonagenarian, No. 3 born in 1903, is also consulted, his role is not as institutionalized as that of No. 2.

Another leader of the group was a man who died recently. He was the Ward Representative, the elected spokesman of Ward 7, including Hitichhen, Bahundanda and Khatrigaon, to the Village Council of Makaibari on all official matters involving the ward and, indeed, the Makaibari Gaon Panchayat Area. He was 63 years old, the same age as the present lineage head, and the father of Nos. 11, 12 and 13. He would have been No. 4 on the list of head-of-household, had he lived, and his by-passing of Nos. 2 and 3 (both nonagenarians) might indicate some element of pragmatism, coupled with that of age, in recognition of leaders particularly in non-lineage affairs. In any case, no successor has as yet been elected in his place. One wonders whether the Shrestha of Pasagnani would put up the present No. 4, born in 1925, as a candidate to stand for election as the new ward representative.

The social and religious aspects of khala membership and the linkage of one khala with another in a different location may be briefly and perhaps more clearly outlined by discussing some of the rights and obligations of Households A and B who are comparative outsiders in the locality and whose formal ties with it, aside from those attendant on residence, mainly lie in their membership in the funeral guthi of Pasagnani. In land holding, too, they are at a disadvantage since their original plots were those given to their wives, smaller than those given to the males, and opportunities to extend their holdings were limited, first, because most of the available land had already been taken by the main lineage and, second, its male members would do their best to keep the land to themselves in the face of an increasing lineage population living off a limited amount of land.

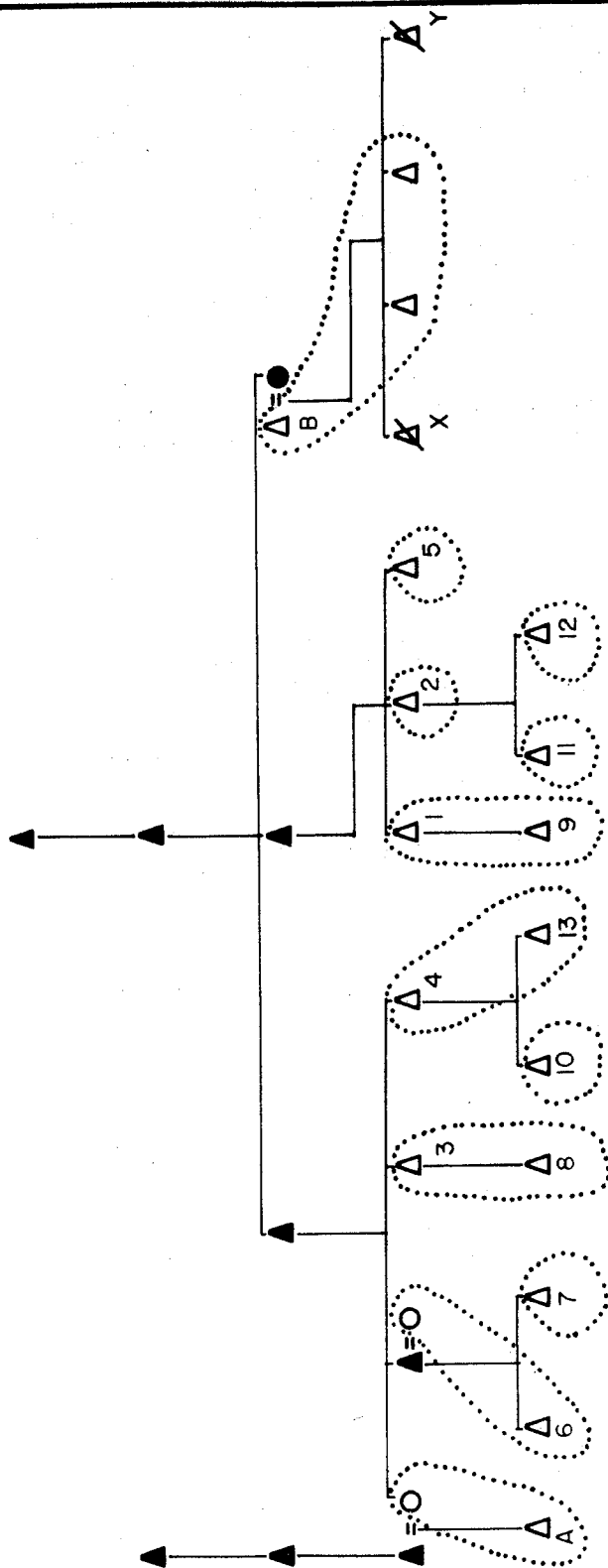
In the case of Household A, a great-granddaughter, now deceased, of the elder of the two original settler brothers, married a Shrestha from Pharping Town but, rather than her going to Pharping as, it will be remembered, one of her classificatory sisters did, he came to settle in Pasagnani. Head-of-Household A is his only son who not only belongs to his father's khala (in Pharping) but also his mother's

(in Pasagnani). Descent in a khala therefore has some aspects of bilaterality. A woman and her children, whether sons or daughters, belong to the khala of her birth. Her children, of course, also are counted as members of their father's khala. Head A, however, is neither on the roll of succession to the lineage leadership in the Pasagnani khala, because his descent is not in the male line, nor, presumably because his father moved away at marriage, in the Pharping khala. He can be considered head of his own khala in Pasagnani except, in actuality and at this time, it has only five members: himself, his wife and his three minor daughters. It is therefore to be considered more of an incipient lineage, assuming sons are born to him, than an actual one. Moreover, while he has some ritual and social obligations to the Pasagnani khala (mother's lineage) he is, for instance, not compelled to mourn the death of a member of it. He can, if he wishes to: he has a choice. On the other hand, he must attend the death rites and mourn the death of a member of his father's lineage in Pharping: he has no choice. Again, in actuality, because he is not resident in Pharping, he may not perhaps observe all the details of the mourning ceremony and for the full period customary for a relative of a given degree of kinship. He does, however, lead his family in Pasagnani in worship of the Pharping lineage deity.

The head of household B is apparently even more of an outsider to the Pasagnani lineage. His ritual and formalized social obligations to Pasagnani are even less than A's since it is his wife only, and his children through her, who belong to the Pasagnani khala. B's khala ties are elsewhere, with his father's and his mother's respective lineages. Unless an invitation to, say, a wedding ceremony in the Pasagnani khala specifies that the couple is invited, he may not even attend formal ceremonies or the formal aspects of a ceremony; his wife and children, however, are automatically included in them (where women or children are allowed). Though by virtue of his residence in Pasagnani he may have given up some or all real property inheritance rights or a leadership role in his father's khala, in this case it was close by, in Makaibari proper. B's ties with it are still strong but his claim to these rights, if indeed he has any, may very well be disputed by his paternal kinsmen. The situation was not clear. But it was clear that, at least on occasion, he leads worship, restricted to his wife, his twin 17-year old sons, and three daughters, to the deity of his patrilineage.

It appears, then, that each individual Shrestha, male or females, belongs to two khala, respectively of each parent. For a man his paternal khala is paramount in terms of real property inheritance, leadership role and ritual (particularly in worship of the lineage deity) and formalized social obligations with special regard to death of relatives. These may be loosened or lost if he moves away physically from the lineage. Emotional ties with the maternal khala are often quite strong. He is automatically included in many of its rituals and ceremonies. And a mother often takes her children for informal visit with her khala kinsmen of either parent.

DIAGRAM 2: THE TANDUKAR OF HITICHHEN



EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS

- △ Male
- Female
- X Left the Locality
- ▲ Deceased
- Deceased
- Adoption
- Occupants of One Household

While a child is a link between two khala, such linkages may be further strengthened by a custom whereby a man's sister may be given in marriage to a family from which his bride has come. At least four such exchanges have taken place in the Shrestha khala, with two families in Ichangu and one family each in Matatirtha and Damaitar. While other Pasagnani girls have tended to go in marriage to certain locations from which brides come to Pasagnani, as for instance Panga, Pharping, Naikap and Ichangu, it is not known whether exchange marriages were involved in these cases.

Finally, in their relationship with other localities of the ward, the Shrestha engage in an institutionalized system of labour exchange (Nepali: parma) respectively with the Poudyal of Bahundanda and the Khatri of Khatrigaon. These include such as planting and harvesting of rice and wheat but not the watching of cattle which is done mainly by kinsmen.

The Tandukar Khala (Diagram 2)

There are twelve households in Hitichhen, all Tandukar, and ten of them are descended in the male line from a man (the first generation in the diagram) who settled in Hitichhen and whose eldest living descendant is a great-granddaughter born in 1895. The male heads-of-household descended from him are numbered from 1 (the lineage head) to 7 and 10 and 11. Nos. 8 and 9 live with their respective fathers while No. 12 may perhaps not be considered a head-of-household since he is a young man, 19 years of age, who having become a Buddhist monk lives alone. (In passing it may be noted that his father's younger sister became a Buddhist nun some years ago and left Hitichhen).

No. 1, the lineage head, is the oldest male in his (fourth) generation, having been born in 1910, and his duties and responsibilities parallel those outlined previously for the head of the Shrestha lineage, even to the leadership of the funeral guthi which is found in Hitichhen. There are two people older than he. One is the 80-year old woman referred to above who married (on an exchange marriage basis) into a second, much smaller, patrilineage in Hitichhen and whose sole adult male representative is her son (Head-of-Household A). Counting the original founder who came from Banepa Town to Hitichhen and minor children (not shown in the diagram) his lineage is five generations deep but is comprised of only six members at present. Part of the reason for this small number may be that A has only sisters, one of whom is unmarried at 40 years of age and living with him while the others have married and moved away. Since, however, his great-grandfather had come to Hitichhen early enough to acquire a fair land-holding, A is relatively comfortable economically. Because of the small number of his family, A, a lineage head in his own right, plays a subordinate role in Hitichhen affairs.

The other older person (Head-of-Household B) is a male from Basantapur in Kathmandu City who settled in Hitichhen after marriage with a girl of the main lineage. He is now 78 years old (born in 1897) and though his wife is dead, he has four married sons and eleven grandchildren (of whom eight are males); thus his line seems to have a good chance of continuing but perhaps not in Hitichhen entirely. It may be of significance in terms of land-holdings and leadership roles in Hitichhen, which are restricted for B and his line, that two of his sons (X and Y) have emigrated to Chitawan District, where, starting some 20 years ago, large tracts of land have become available with attendant development of new communities and economic opportunity. But for this, B might have achieved some or more leadership role in Hitichhen affairs by the weight of numbers of his incipient lineage.

While the roles of A and B in Hitichhen generally parallel those of A and B in Pasagnani, including membership in the funeral associations of their locality, in Hitichhen A is the head of a numerically small but true patrilineage and B has, or had, enough descendants to form a powerful faction.

Because of their physical isolation from the rest of Ward 7 the Tandukar of Hitichhen exchange labor in agricultural activities with nearby people of Makaibari proper.

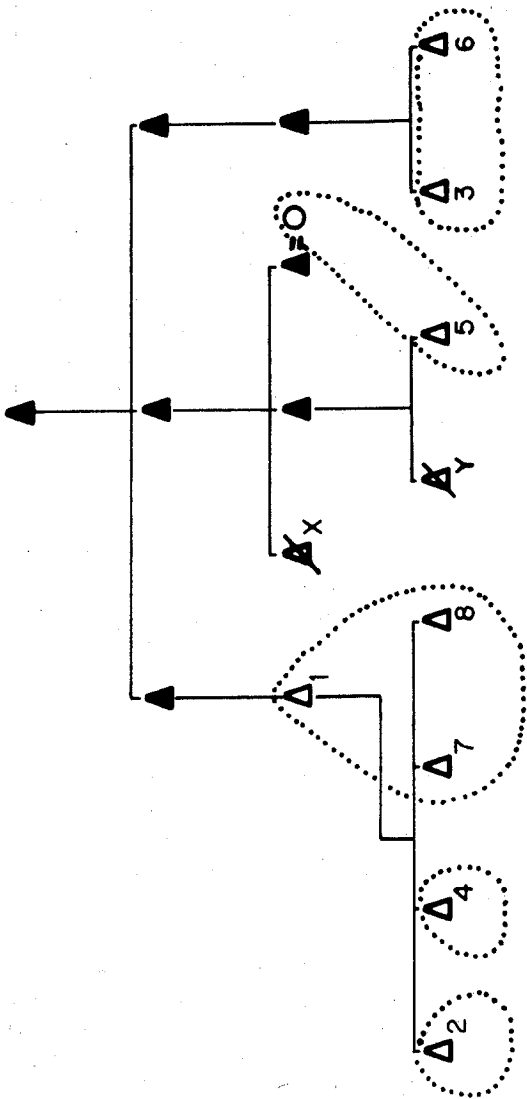
The Poudyal Santan (Diagram 3) and the Khatri Santan (Diagram 4)

The relationships of the heads-of-household of the Poudyal of Bahundanda and the Khatri of Khatrigaon are relatively simple. They are, respectively, members of a unilateral patrilineal descent group.

The eight households of the Poudyal are headed by Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 13 and 14 who are all descendants in the male line of a man who came from Naikap to settle in Bahundanda. Descent is traced through his two sons (the widow, born in 1888, of the younger is still alive) to four grandsons of whom two, Nos. 1 and 2, born in 1909 and 1919 respectively, are also still alive, the former being the lineage headman. Other relevant male descendants are Nos. 5 and 15 who each live with an elder brother, and living with their fathers are Nos. 7, 9 and 10 as a group, No. 8 and No. 12.

Nos. 1 and 2 are sons of the aged widow mentioned above. She is known as the "mother of the lineage" (Nepali: santan ko mata) and evidently is still a formidable person living up to her name. She lives with No. 2 (and his elder son, No. 8) but her 52-year old daughter-in-law (No. 2's wife) has moved into another house with the younger married son where she can be the mother-in-law and rule domestic affairs. Of the four sons of No. 3, No. 12 lives with him and No. 14 has set up a separate household. No. 13 became the adopted son (Nepali: dharam putra) of the widow of No. 3's younger brother who had no children. No. 15, still young and unmarried, also lives with his brother in this last household.

DIAGRAM 4: THE KHATRI OF KHATRIGAON



EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS

- Δ Male
- $\circ$ Female
- Δ Left the Locality
- Δ Deceased
- $\bullet$ Deceased
- Adoption
- $\circ$ Occupants of One Household

While they exchange labor in agriculture with the Shrestha of Pasagnani, the Poudyal do not cooperate with their other nearby neighbours, the Khatri, because of bad blood resulting from a dispute over land.

The Khatri are linked in kin with another Khatri santan in Ward 9 whom they join particularly in observance of dewali ceremonies to their kul deuta, a blood sacrifice held annually to the tutelary god of a kul, a group of people who, real or imagined, consider themselves related through descent from a common male ancestor in the remote past. As Bista (1972: 56) points out in his detailed discussion of this ceremony, the term kul has a large range of meanings: a clan, a tribe, a lineage and so on; but its depth of generation obviously exceeds that of the santan which runs from about four to seven. A group of related santan, acknowledging a common male ancestor, might therefore form a kul.

The linkage with Ward 9 resulted because the founder of the Khatri santan in Ward 7 was the illegitimate son of one of the Ward 9 Khatri. Probably because of restrictions caused by his status on real property inheritance and leadership rights, he settled in Khatrigaon and the present five heads-of-household are his direct descendants. They are his grandson (No. 1, the lineage head, born in 1905 but not the oldest male survivor of his generation), and seven grandsons of whom Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5 are counted as heads-of-household. Nos. 7 and 8 live with their father, No. 1, while No. 6 lives with his elder brother.

The oldest male survivor is a classificatory brother of No. 1 (in the third generation). He (marked X) was born in 1900 but has moved away from Khatrigaon with his wife to live with their only daughter, married and residing in a neighbouring gaon panchayat area. In the fourth generation, too, one man (Y) has emigrated to India.

Concluding Remarks

In sum, the inhabitants of Ward 7 of Makaibari can be divided into four major distinct kin-groups each inhabiting a separate locality in the ward. These kin-groups are based on descent in the male line and elements of bilaterality in the Newar khala do not go counter to this basic patrilineity.

The Shrestha are organized into one main khala and two incipient separate khala while the Tandukar are organized into one main, one separate minor and one separate incipient khala. The incipient khala resulted from matrilocal or uxorilocal residence and are therefore related to the main khala through the female side. Both the Poudyal and Khatri santan are clear cases of patrilineages which are localized in these examples.

It is suggested that the situation obtaining in Ward 7 of Makai-bari is essentially the kinship structural pattern found in most of the rural wards in the midland Hill Zone of Nepal and that, whether or not the localities are physically separated, distinct kin groups can, in the main, be identified in association with distinct localities.

While a detailed social survey of every rural ward in Nepal is not advocated as a preliminary to development projects, it is held that this kind of information needs to be made explicit to rural field workers, whether in training courses or through guidance by their supervisors. Its application in a field situation will facilitate their work.

FOOTNOTES

1. This study was carried out under the auspices of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University. I am grateful to Messrs Nirmal Shumsher Rana and Bhaskar Shumsher Rana for their work in the field and to Messrs Bihari Krishna Shrestha and Purna Harsha Bajracharya for discussions of the data. None of them is, however, responsible for any errors.
2. Nepal's division into three broad altitudinal and environmental zones running east to west across the country is accepted for this paper. From north to south, they are the Himal (Mountains), Pahad (Hills) and Tarai (plains) zones. (See Gurung, 1971).
3. In 1952/54, out of 28,780 towns and villages, 24,439 had less than a population of 500 each. These small villages (gaon) were inhabited by 4,071,437 people (close to half the total population of the country then), an average of 166.6 per village. (HM Government of Nepal, 1957: 53-54).
4. Population and household figures were collected from the 1971 National Census of Population (HMG, 1973) on 26 gaon panchayat areas in the Pahad Zone. They were selected because they were under consideration for development projects; therefore, they do not represent a random sampling. Of their 234 wards, however, totalling 13,527 households, 157 (67.1%) ranged in size from 30-69 households, the mode being 40-49 households (in 48 wards or 20.5%). The median was 51.4 houses. At the extremes were five wards (2.1%) with less than 20 households and two wards (0.8%) with more than 180 households each.
5. The dynamics of succession to the headship of a patrilineage clarify the dynamics of succession to the hereditary prime ministership of Nepal during Rana days (1846-1951). In essence, much internal strife among the Rana is explainable in terms of violation, or attempted violation, of rules of succession to the headship of patrilineage which coincided politically, in

this instance, with the prime ministership.

6. The terms City and Town are used here and later to denote the relative urbanism of settlements and is not necessarily a legal or administrative distinction.

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the early history of lo(mustang) and ngari

David P. Jackson

"Surrounded on all sides by a garland of white rocky mountains, (and endowed) with perpetually flowing streams of cascading waters, clear and clean like a crystal orb, (such is) the palace of the King of Mustang."¹

Thus did a Mustangi author, writing in 1535, describe his homeland, the capital of a small principality situated just south of the last ridge dividing the valleys of Nepal from the high, arid plains of Tibet. In the language of its natives, "Mustang" (smon thang) refers only to the small walled capital city of the larger territory of Lo (glo bo).² Lo's territory embraced all of the upper Kali Gandaki valley, from what is now called Baragaon up to the highest elevations in its watershed. The lands which Mustang's rulers controlled in the 15th century included all of Upper and Lower Lo (glo bo stod smad)³ and Dolpo, while the adjoining areas such as Thak Khola and Manang were their tributaries. Set apart from those neighbours by a wall of mountains on three sides and a climatic boundary on the fourth, Lo's own borders are well defined. Its location makes it a strategic spot controlling what was once an important trans-Himalayan trade route, but the land's size, climate and terrain prevented it from supporting a population sufficient for permanent military domination of even the above mentioned areas. During low ebbs in its political history it sometimes lost control of all but Upper Lo. This was due to the encroachments of stronger states such as Gungthang, Jumla, Purang and Guge. Nevertheless, since the beginning of the present ruling line at the end of the 14th century Lo managed for centuries to maintain its status as a separate political entity. And when, at the end of the eighteenth century, Lo finally became a part of Gurkha Nepal, it continued to enjoy a great deal of autonomy, and its right to rule directly or demand tribute from its immediate neighbours was reasserted at that time by Bahadur Shah.⁴

Ancient Ngari

Before its inclusion into a unified Nepal, the people of Lo considered their land to be a border region of Ngari, a general place name designating most of Western Tibet.⁵ Ngari had not been an integral part of the early Tibetan kingdom, and it was not until 645 A.D. that its main area, a large expanse in the region of Mount Kailāsa which was then the independent kingdom of Zhang-shung, was brought under Tibet's sway. Although it was not long before the Zhang-zhung language and culture became replaced by those of Tibet, it and the surrounding areas retained the name Ngari (mnga' ris), meaning literally "sector under control" or "domain", which bears witness to its original status as a conquered land. In the minds

of Lo's native scholars, their land was included within the southern border of Ngari's easternmost region, "lower Ngari (mnga' ris smad),⁶ which also included Gungthang to its east. But the general geographic designation "Ngari" did not denote any particular political alignment with the other kingdoms in Western Tibet.

The Chronicles of Ladakh (La dwags rgyal rabs) assert that Lo, together with Zhang-zhung, was part of the Tibetan King Srong-btsan-sgam-po's seventh century conquests in the western border-lands.⁷ If true, this is the earliest event in Lo's history to which we can find reference. Considering the location of Lo roughly between Zhang-zhung (which included modern Guge) and Central Tibet, this conquest is not as far fetched as some which have been ascribed to that great king.

By the reign of Khri-srong-lde-btsan, who was born some hundred years later in the year 742 A.D., the annexation of Ngari into Tibet was becoming complete. It is the period of his reign (enthroned in the year 755 or 756) to which the first of Lo's local legends refers. That was the time when the great saint Padmasambhava visited Tibet, and according to legend, journeyed to Lo, subdued a demoness there, and blessed several places which are now revered as holy spots.⁸ There is nothing extraordinary about that legend in itself because as a legendary figure Padmasambhava was truly ubiquitous. Similar legends exist about countless other places in Tibet. Yet evidence supports that as a historical figure Padmasambhava visited Tibet in the last half of the eighth century, participating in the founding of Tibet's first monastery, Samye (bsam yas) (c-775). He is said to have been invited to Tibet from Nepal, and no doubt he came by way of Mangyul Gungthang.⁹ Hence it is not unthinkable that from there he visited nearby Lo, as some literary sources also claim, he did.¹⁰ We will shortly examine another piece of evidence which supports that such a visit was more than mere legend.

Buddhist Renaissance in Ngari

Tibet as a political power was already wanning by 842 A.D., the year of Langdarma's assassination. After Langdarma's death and the ensuing collapse of the central power structure, the once great dominion became broken up into many small, independent principalities. Central Tibet was hardest hit by the following dark age. But in Ngari, particularly in Guge and Purang, the political fragmentation and the decline of Buddhism were not so long-lived. It was in Ngari that the embers of Buddhism were rekindled and, less than two centuries after the anti-Buddhist persecution by Langdarma, were carried back to Central Tibet.

The ancient royal line of Tibet had not died out after Langdarma, but had become fractured into many branches, each controlling a small principality. One side of the family, that descended from Langdarma's legitimate son 'Od-srung, came to control parts of Western Tibet.¹¹ One of the kings of this line, Bkra-shis-mgon, who flourished in the mid-tenth century, succeeded in uniting most of Ngari under his control. A fifteenth century historical work states that Lo and Dolpo were among the lands that he ruled.¹² Bkra-shis-mgon is remembered for having restored some of the glory to the old royal line that once ruled a large part of Asia. But even more than him, it is his descendants Lha-bla-ma Ye-shes-'od and Byang-chub-'od who are lauded in Tibetan religious histories (chos 'byung) for their efforts taken to restore Buddhism in Tibet.

During the time of Ye-shes-'od and Byang-chub-'od, the Qarluq Turks were contributing to the increasing political instability of Ngari.¹³ Ye-shes-'od, the king of Guge, was captured by the Qarlucs, and the ransom for his release was to be his weight in gold. The king was old, and when the gold brought to ransom him fell short by an amount equalling the weight of his head, he convinced his nephew.¹⁴ Byang-chub-'od, the prince of Purang, to abandon him and use the gold instead to invite from India one of the foremost Buddhist luminaries of the time. The religious teacher whom Byang-chub-'od succeeded in bringing was the peerless sage, Atīsa (980-1054). He arrived in the year 1042, and for three years stayed in Guge and Purang. Then on his way back to India via Mangyul, he was prevented from proceeding past Kyirong by a border disturbance. After remaining there for some time, he continued on to Central Tibet where he taught until he passed away nine years later. His teachings greatly influenced the later course of Tibet's religious history. One of Atīsa's major disciples was a native of Lo named Ston-pa Yang-rab.¹⁵

At the beginning of this revitalization of Buddhism the main parts were played by Indian pandits and their Tibetan translators. Because of Ngari's geographical proximity to India and in particular to Kashmir, and owing to the favorable circumstances afforded there by the local rulers' active patronage, it became an early center of translation activities. The first translator of the New Translation Period was Atīsa's older contemporary Rin-chen-bzang-po (958-1055) who was a native of Upper Ngari. He distinguished himself by going to Kashmir and India where he mastered Sanskrit and the specialized teachings of Tantra, and then returning to his homeland as a prolific translator and the founder of many temples.

The tremendous upsurge in religious activity was not limited to just Indian masters and Tibetan translators, for during this same period another remarkable figure, the first of his kind, was beginning his career in Lo. Since the first great spread of Buddhism in Tibet in the time of Padmasambhava, certain teachings of the Old Translation Period known as bka' ma had been kept alive in an unbroken transmission from master to disciple. Now, contemporaneous with translators such as Rin-chen-bzang-po, who were forging

new links with the living traditions of India, some followers of the older tradition were trying to find fresh connections with Padmasambhava and the golden age of his teachings. This was done by "treasure revealers" who claimed to have the ability to find hidden texts (gter ma). Such texts were said to have been concealed in special places by Padmasambhava himself, who intended that they be found there when the time was ripe for them. The first treasure finder was Sangs-rgyas-bla-ma,¹⁶ and his first discoveries were made in Lo, in and around the monastery of Lo Gekar.¹⁷ It is easy to be sceptical about such texts' authenticity. But some of them may have been genuine ancient documents if their description as being scrolls of yellow paper is accurate, for that matches the appearance of the trove of eighth and ninth century texts uncovered by western scholars at Tunhuang.¹⁸ The fact that the first discovery of such texts was attributed to a place in Lo may be historically significant, whether they were authentic discoveries or not. Should they have been genuine texts, of course, they would be definite proof of a visit there by Padmasambhava. But even if they were spurious, one can still surmise that at the time of their "discovery" there must have existed a strong tradition relating to the activities of Padmasambhava there, perhaps only two centuries previously, a tradition which would lend seeming veracity to the "finds".¹⁹

Ngari in the Early Medieval Period

During the twelfth century a new political order emerged in Ngari. The old dynasty of Guge which descended from Bkra-shis-mgon came to an end, and they were replaced by the dynasty of the Western Mallas. This new line of kings was founded by one named Nāgarāja (or in Tibetan sources, Nāgadeva) of the Khasa tribe, an ancient Indo-Aryan people who inhabited what is now Western Nepal. The Tibetan chronicles portray their dynasty as being an extension of the Guge royalty whose line they replaced.²⁰ However, the work of modern scholars, notably that of Prof. Tucci, has brought to light much data refuting that.²¹ The Western Malla kings seem to have become Tibetanized, and the first four generations of rulers following their founder were known by Tibetan names. And even after this practice was discontinued, they continued to patronize Tibetan Buddhism. Btsan-phyug-lde, the son of the founder, "went to Yatshe" (ya tsher byon).²² This can be interpreted to mean that he moved his capital to Yatshe which is thought to be identical with Simja near modern Jumla. This dynasty and the ones succeeding it which ruled from Jumla almost continuously played a powerful role in Ngari until both Lo and Jumla entered the modern era at the end of the eighteenth century.

Meanwhile, in the far west of Ngari another princely line which was descended from Bkra-shis-mgon's older brother, Dpal-gyi-mgon,²³ was building a strong base of power in Ladakh. Around the beginning of the twelfth century one of these kings, Lha-chen Utpal, conquered Lo and all the territory between it and Purang. To the

south this conquest extended at least as far as Muktinath (chu la me 'bar).²⁴ Finally, toward the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries, the power of yet another kingdom was rising at Dzongka in Gungthang to the west. In that place there ruled another line of kings, this one descended from Bkra-shis-brtsegs-pa-dpal, the uncle of Bkra-shis-mgon. The Gungthang Chronicles (GGR) record that the power of these kings waxed great at this time during the reign of Lha-mchog-lde and his brothers, a period which coincided with the life of Milarepa (1040-1123).²⁵

On the basis of a few scattered references it is risky to set forth a specific account of Ngari's politics in this period. This is because there exists "a great gap in contemporary literary evidence between the ninth and thirteenth-fourteenth centuries,"²⁶ which probably more than anything else accounts for why "the period from 900 to 1200 has been neglected by scholars."²⁷ Nevertheless, the general cultural trends of the time can be seen. Indian pandits and Tibetan translators continued to be important. Monasteries, as great and powerful centers of ordained monks, did not yet exist in Tibet. In fact, very few of the recipients of those fresh impulses of Indian Buddhism were monks. Like many of their Indian predecessors, the new Tibetan masters of Vajrayana, then the prevalent form of Buddhism, often either outwardly kept up the family life of a householder or else completely abandoned ordinary existence and devoted themselves to meditation in remote caves and hermitages. Marpa the Translator (1012-1096) is a famous example of the first type, while his disciple the great saint Milarepa epitomizes the second.²⁸ Eventually, temples sprang up on the sites where particularly charismatic masters had been active. When a great teacher was followed by able disciples, patterns of local patronage became established. Noble families became allied with or identified with religious lineages. In cases of noble families whose members displayed unusual aptitude for religion, when a noted teacher from the family was succeeded by an outstanding son or nephew a kind of religious aristocracy with increasing inherited prestige came into being. The 'Khon family of Sakya (sa skya) had such origins. Sakya monastery was founded in 1073 by 'Khon Dkon'mchog-rgyal-po (1034-1102), but its main teaching lines came to Sakya through his son, Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (1092-1158). These teachings appear to have reached Lo very quickly because one of Sa-chen's disciples is said to have stayed in Lo.²⁹

The last half of the twelfth century saw the establishment of four great Kargyu (bka' brgyud) monasteries in Tibet. With this the age of monastic politics began rapidly to unfold. Mount Kailāsa exerted a strong pull on many Kargyu monks and yogins, and in the footsteps of Milarepa who was their spiritual forefather they journeyed there in considerable numbers. In particular, the founder of Drigung ('bri gung) monastery, 'Jig-rten-mgon-po (1143-1217), in 1181 had a vision directing him to send monks to three holy spots,³⁰ one of which was Kailāsa. This ultimately led to a great

penetration of Drigung influence into Ngari during the thirteenth centuries. They were particularly successful in the Himalayan regions under the control of the Yatshe kings, but they were also strong elsewhere. A nineteenth century Drigung hierarchy writes that in the time of Goung Rin-po-che (Rdo-rje-grags-pa, 1210-1278) the temple at Muktināth (glo chu mig brgy rtsa) in Lower Lo was a branch monastery of Rgyang-grags at Kailasa, itself a branch monastery of Drigung.³¹ He also claims that the temple of Kojarnāth at Purang was formerly Drigungpa, but his account of its later conversion to a Sakyapa establishment is confused.³²

Early in the thirteenth century the great Kashmiri pandit Sākyaśrī (1127-1225), in the later spread of Buddhism perhaps second in importance only to Atiśa, visited Tibet and established at Sakya the custom of full monastic ordination. Circa 1212 on his way back to Kashmir he passed through Lo.³³ In Lo he is recorded to have returned much gold to his Tibetan follower Khro-phu Lo-tsa-ba, lest it be lost to brigands as he continued on his westward journey. This indicates that an unstable condition existed west of there, but that it was relatively safe to travel from Tsang (gtsang) through Gungthang up to Lo.

Gungthang Linked with Sakya and the Mongols

As far as the kingdom of Gungthang was concerned, danger in the west was increasing. In that direction the powerful kingdom of Yatshe was threatening. In the reign of the Gungthang king Dgon-po-lde (c. 1235?) a war broke out between Gungthang and Yatshe. Gungthang was worsted, and its king fled to Kyirong where he ultimately was killed. Yatshe's position of predominance in Ngari probably would have remained unchallenged was it not for the following turn of events. One of the unfortunate king's three sisters probably sometime before the war broke out had been sent to Sakya to become the third consort of Zangs-tsha Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1184-1239),³⁴ the grandson of Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po. It is doubtful that anyone in those times could have foreseen the Sakya 'Khon family's phenomenal rise to power which occurred through their contact with the Mongols. Repercussions from the Mongol expansion in Central Asia had been felt by Tibetans from afar since the early thirteenth century. Suddenly, in 1240 the Mongol forces of Köden threatened Tibet directly. Zangs-tsha's brother, Sakya Pandita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251), the most respected Buddhist leader of the time, was chosen to negotiate with them. He ultimately became the official Mongol representative for Tibet. Meanwhile, Zangs-tsha's union with the Gungthang princess resulted in two daughters but no sons. One of these daughters was sent back to wed the then reigning Gungthang king, her first-cousin, Btsun-pa-lde.³⁵ About this same time (c. 1252?), as a result of help from their then powerful Sakya 'Khon relatives, an army was sent to extract revenge from Yatshe. This was accomplished at great cost in human lives to Yatshe. Thus occurred the sudden recovery of the Gungthang kings from their previous catastrophe.

Their lot was now firmly linked with that of the Sakya rulers, and hence ultimately to the Mongols. But still greater things lay ahead. The initial success of Sakya Pandita in Köden's court had been aided by the presence of his bright young nephew, 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1235-1280). This precocious youth went on to win great favor in the courts of other Mongol leaders, and finally received the hereditary donation of Tibet from the great khan, Khubilai, and also received from him the title of "Imperial Preceptor". This meant that the Gungthang queen was half-brother of the king of Tibet, and is the most probable reason for Gungthang's becoming the administrative center for Ngari during the Mongol period.³⁶

The next king in the Gungthang royal line was 'Bum-lde-mgon (1253-1280). His reign, although brief, marked a high point in this dynasty. The name of the Tibetan ruler 'Phags-pa is often mentioned in connection with this king. For example, when the king was born, 'Phags-pa was said to be nineteen (=18) years old, in the king's eighth year (= age 7) it mentions that 'Phags-pa became king, and in 1277, at the completion of a great religious monument in Gungthang by 'Bum-lde-mgon, 'Phags-pa is recorded to have come there and dedicated it.³⁷ One can reasonably presume that this king's political power derived in great part from his association with 'Phags-pa. As evidence of the great power of Gungthang during his reign, the Gungthan kings' chronicler, Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang-nor-bu (1698-1755), quotes a list of more than a dozen forts which 'Bum-lde-mgon founded. These included forts in Upper, Middle and Lower Lo, Dolpo, Manang, Guge-Purang, La-stod Byang and Lho, Nubri, and Kyirong.³⁸ Gungthan's paramountcy in Ngari was also directly confirmed by the Mongols. One of 'Bum-lde-mgon's two sons was invited to the Mongol court, and it was there that he died after completing the journey. The king's other son, by a different mother, was named Khri-lde-'bum (b. 1268). He also journeyed to China to the court of the Mongol emperor, and when he became king his rule over the thirteen sections (tsho)³⁹ of Ngari was sanctioned by the Mongols. In particular, in the year 1307 he received an official seal or patent from the Mongol rulers.

Contemporaneous with Gungthang's rise in power was the career of the Translator of Lo, Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab-rin-chen (fl. mid-13th century).⁴⁰ This learned master of Vajrayana Buddhism, working together with pandits from Yatshe or Jumla,⁴¹ and probably elsewhere translated a considerable number of Sanskrit texts into Tibetan language, many of which found their way into future redactions of the Tanjur (bstan 'gyur).⁴² His special contributions were in the translation and transmission of the Red Yamāntaka (gshin rje gshed dmar po) cycle of tantric precepts which descended through Virūpa,⁴³ and in his translation of the Svarodaya Tantra, the basis for the g.yul rgyal system of astrology.⁴⁴ Besides those major accomplishments, he also achieved great preeminence unparalleled by any native of Lo up to that time through his becoming the religious preceptor of 'Phags-pa, the ruler of Tibet. Previous to his

imparting teachings to 'Phags-pa, Glo-bo Lo-tsa-ba had already been associated with 'Phags-pa's uncle, Sakya Pandita. The traditional lists of Sakya Pandita's disciples included his name.⁴⁵ Also, Sakya Pandita's reply to a query by Glo-bo Lo-tsa-ba can be found among the collected writings of Sakya Pandita.⁴⁶ Judging by the respectful form of address used by Sakya Pandita in that letter, Glo-bo Lo-tsa-ba was already one of the day's most highly respected ecclesiasts. Later, some fifteen years after Sakya Pandita passed away, 'Phags-pa showed Glo-bo Lo-tsa-ba a token of highest regard by requesting from him various tantric teachings including the transmission of the Red Yamāntaka cycle.⁴⁷ Glo-bo Lo-tsa-ba's answer to one of 'Phags-pa's questions survived in Tibet until later times,⁴⁸ although the question itself was not included among 'Phags-pa's collected works.

Decline of Sakya and Gungthang, and the Second Peak in Western Malla Rule

The last period which led up to the establishment of Lo's ruling family was a time of decline for the power and prestige of the Sakya hierophants. The consequences of this were felt throughout Ngari, and especially in Gungthang. Although the Gungthang rulers received direct recognition from the Mongols, no doubt a great deal of their authority derived from their close relationship with the Sakya 'Khon family. The king Khri-lde-'bum (b. 1268) had married the daughter of the Sakya hierarch, Bzang-po-dpal (1262-1324), who was named Kun-dga'-'bum. She was the daughter of Bzang-po-dpal's fifth main wife, and was sent to Gungthang when quite young. Two children resulted from the union of Khri-lde-'bum and Kun-dga'-'bum. One was the prince whom the Sakya sources name Bzang-po-lde⁴⁹ but who would seem to be identical with Chos-skyong-lde (d. 1352), as Khri-lde-'bum's son and successor is called in the Gungthang Chronicles. The second child was the daughter Kun-skyong-rgyal-mo. She was given in marriage to Dbang Kun-dga'-legs-pa'i-'byung-gnas (1308-1336) who was the just mentioned Kun-dga'-'bum's full-brother and who was the founder of the Dus-mchod branch of the Sakya family.⁵⁰ The only child from this union was the daughter, Bsod-nams-'bum. She, in turn, was given as a consort to the Gungthang king, Bkra-shis-lde (d. 1365).

As long as Sakya was a center of power, which it remained through the beginning of the fourteenth century, such marriage alliances were useful. The Sakya generals were very powerful and could call for Mongol assistance. In 1290, for example, a Sakya army led by the general Ag-len and aided by the Mongols sacked the monastery of Sakya's main rival, Drigung.⁵¹ However, a four-fold schism had occurred in the family of Sakya owing to a superabundance of male heirs. In the year 1327 the titles and seals of Sakya were divided among the four branches of the family by Bzang-po-dpal's son, Bla-chen Kun-dga'-blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1299-1237).⁵² The splitting up of the Sakya 'Khon family opened the way for many violent internal disputes. And, coinciding as it did with the decline of their Mongol patrons upon whom their secular authority

ultimately rested, and with the ineffectualness of Sakya's having lost its preeminent figurehead position. By the mid-fourteenth century Sakya's titles were merely honorary and were not enforced by the then feeble Mongols. In the year 1349 when Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan of Phagmodru (phag mo gru) finally and permanently usurped the position of Sakya, the Mongols passively acknowledge him as the new ruler of Tibet.

Gungthang and the rest of Ngari had been included within the westernmost of the three districts (chol kha) of Greater Tibet under the Mongols. When Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan and his Phagmodru successors received the traditional investiture of these three districts from the Mongols, the nominal allegiance of Gungthang would seem to have also passed to them. However, according to the majority of sources,⁵³ Ngari as a whole and Gungthang in particular were not among the thirteen myriarchies directly administered by the Sakya Dpon-chen, and one guesses that under the Phagmodru government whose capital was far away in Central Tibet, the semi-independence of Ngari from Tibet did not decrease but probably increased. On the other hand, during the height of the Yuan Dynasty the chain of command between Gungthang and the Mongols was quite direct. The real power in Tibet in those times was in the hands of the Mongols' military-political appointees, and the Gungthang king had been invested by the Mongols with the powerful title Ta dben sha, a position which reported directly to a Mongol office.⁵⁴ With the decline of the Mongols the patents possessed by Gungthang also became devalued. After the fall of the Yuan dynasty one cannot be sure what new alignment with China, if any, took the place of Ngari and Gungthang's previous links with the Mongols.

There are indications that the fortunes of Gungthang suffered during the last half of the fourteenth century. The Gungthang ruler Bkra-shis-lde's son, Phun-tshogs-lde (1338-1370), passed away while his sons Mchog-grub-lde and Bsod-nams-lde (1371-1404) were too young to ascend the throne. For a five year period the rule passed into the hands of a regent who seems to have been the district military commander.⁵⁵ When the sons reached maturity they were fully occupied with reasserting Gungthang's influence over some western territories which had been lost, territories which included Purang and, almost certainly, Lo.

The above mentioned territories had been lost to the renewed expansion of the Western Mallas. We saw how in the previous century an army from Ya-tshe had worsted Gungthang's forces and killed its king, and how that defeat was avenged with help from Sakya. That incident seems to have marked the end of the Malla's first wave of expansion into Western Tibet which, beginning at the end of the twelfth century,⁵⁶ had united Guge and Purang under the rule of the Malla kings of Yatshe. For a time the Mallas were held in check by the threat of Sakya or Mongol intervention, and Purang along with other parts of Ngari came back under Gungthang's control. Sakya's ally Gungthang built a fort during the reign of 'Bum-lde-

mgon (d. 1280) specifically for holding Purang and Guge in its power.⁵⁷ Throughout the first decades of the fourteenth century the Western Mallas' relationship with Sakya remained very cordial. One king received ordination there and another offered a gold roof to be erected above the religious throne (chos khri) of Sakya.⁵⁸ But for lack of male progeny the original line of Malla kings came to an end. Bsod-nams-lde of the Purang ruling house was then invited to Yatshe probably to marry a Malla princess and he was enthroned there as king. He adopted the name Malla, and with him began a second period of Malla expansion.

It would be expected that Yatshe's new ruler would want to merge his native Purang into the domain of the original Mallas. Although we yet lack definite chronological evidence, it would seem that Purang severed its last ties with Gungthang no later than the reign of Bsod-nams-lde's son, Prthvimalla. This king ruled from the 1350s to the 1370s, and it was during his rule that the second expansion of the Mallas, now actually the Gela family of Purang, reached its peak. During this time the lands which came under Yatshe and Purang seem to have included Lo. Then, near the end of the fourteenth century, the power of the Mallas suddenly collapsed. Soon thereafter a resurgent Gungthang leadership was undertaking the reconquest of Purang and other territories to their west. It was in the course of these events that the present family which became the line of Mustang rajas first established themselves in Lo.⁵⁹

Summary of Lo's Early Political History

In brief, the early history of Lo cannot be studied apart from the history of Ngari. Because of the scarcity of sources for the history of Lo in particular, in the earliest period great gaps of two or three centuries at a time have to be filled by describing the general trends of the whole region. The first mention of Lo is in connection with Srong-btsan-sgam-po's conquests of the mid-seventh century. Next we hear that more than three centuries later Lo was a part of Bkra-shis-mgon's domain in Ngari. Then, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the situation grew unsettled, first on account of aggressive Turkic peoples and then through the influx of new tribes from the south. One such tribe, the Khasas, brought down the previous ruling line of Guge and Purang and established themselves as the Malla kings ruling from Yatshe. At about that same time Lo is said to have been conquered by Lha-chen Utpal of Ladakh.

The scarcity of historical information about Lo continues until the beginning of the fifteenth century. Our knowledge of its situation is primarily in terms of its status as a tributary of Gungthang, or as a potential area for Yatshe's expansion. In the middle of the thirteenth century Yatshe attacked and defeated Gungthang. Lo probably fell beneath Yatshe's sway at this time

if it had not already. Then Gungthang with Sakya help drove back the Western Mallas of Yatshe, and established forts in upper, middle, and lower Lo. Gungthang's relationship with Sakya and the Mongols helped them keep control over Lo and hold Yatshe in check until the mid-fourteenth century when the Malla ruling line ended for lack of male offspring. At that time, coinciding with the shift of power away from Sakya and the decline of the Mongols, a Purang noble assumed the Yatshe kingship and adopted the name Malla. By the time of Prthvimalla's reign (1350s-1370s) Purang and probably Lo came under Yatshe rule. This second period of Yatshe expansion was shortlived, and after its collapse Gungthang regained control over Purang and Lo. At this time members of the family which was to become the line of Mustang rajas first established themselves as the rulers of Lo.

As limited as the present historical sketch is, it nevertheless introduces the basic situation which existed around Lo in early times, and it sets the stage for the next period in which Lo itself plays an important role.

FOOTNOTES

1. Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, Jo-nang (149 or 1507-1566), Dpal ldan bla ma 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi rnam par thar pa legs bshad khyad par gsum ldan, 125 folia cursive script (tsbug yig) manuscript copy, p. 7a-7b.
2. Many spellings occur for Glo-bo, all of which are phonetically identical. These include blo bo, klo bo, glo'o, blo'o, and klo'o, and even sometimes the erroneous spelling lho. The standard form used throughout this study is glo bo because this form was preferred by the greatest native scholars such as Glo-bo lo-tsa-ba Shes-rab-rin-chen (13th century) and Glo-bo mkhan-chen Bsod-nams-lhun-grub (1456-1532).
3. "Upper Lo" seems to have indicated all of the territory in the Kali Gandaki Valley above but not including Gtsang-rang (Charang on the Survey of India map). "Lower Lo" included the Muktinath Valley and Kagbeni located at its confluence with the Kali Gandaki. Gtsang-rang seems to have been considered "Middle Lo". See note #37.
4. D.R. Regmi, Modern Nepal, Calcutta, 1975, pp. 329-30. A copper letter dated May, 1790 from Rana Bahadur to Wangyal Dorje, the Raja of Mustang, is quoted there.
5. Ngari was traditionally subdivided into three districts (skor). 15th and 16th century sources commonly list these as Purang, Guge and Mang-yul (or Mar-yul). Prof. Tucci (PR, pp. 72-74) advances the view that the third division, Mang-yul, is always to be understood as being the furthest west

of the three districts, corresponding roughly to Ladakh. As such, the Mang-yul of Gung-thang or Kyirong (skyid grong) to the east is to be excluded from the three main districts of Ngari, and hence their designation, "Lower Ngari" (mnga' ris smad). (Seenote 1, p. 74). However, he also admits that this was often not clearly understood by Tibetan writers.

Lo's native accounts seem unanimous in declaring Lo to be a part of Ngari. See, for example, Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, op. cit., p. 7a, Bstan-'dzin-ras-pa (1646-1723), Rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug bstan 'dzin ras pa'i zhal gdams mgur du gsungs pa rnams, 66 folia xylograph, p. 31a., and Padma-'phrin-las, Rdo-rje-brag Rig-'dzin II (1640-1728), DD, p. 723.

6. Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, op. cit., p. 7a.
7. A.H. Francke, Antiquities of Indian Tibet, vol. 2, Calcutta, 1926, p. 83 (p. 32 in Tibetan text). See also L. Petech, A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh (Indian Tibet), Calcutta, 1939, p. 51.
8. Tucci, PR, p. 10, mentions a guidebook to the shrine of Muktinath which contains legends linking it with Padmasambhava. It is entitled, Chu mig brgya rtse brgyad/sku tshab gter lnga/ mu le gangs/gu ru gsang phug sogs kyi dkar chag gsal ba'i me long ngo mtshar can rnams.
9. His invitation and journey to Mangyul Gungthang is recorded in the biography of Padmasambhava by Bkra-shis-stobs-rgyal (1550-1602), Rig 'dzin grup pa'i dbang phyug chen po padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar phun sum tshogs pa'i rgya mtsho, New Delhi, 197, pp. 332-335.
10. Ibid., p. 344. His visit to Lo is mentioned here, as is his binding to oath of nine sibling guardian spirits (bstan ma spun dgu).
11. There exists a curious reference to another branch of the old Tibetan royalty which established itself in Ngari and founded a capital in Lo. This is mentioned by Padma-'phrin-las (DD, pp. 272-3) as follows: /rigs lha rigs/ rus gnya' khri btsan po'i brgyud/ cho 'brang bod yul dkar por bkod pa'i rigs las byung ba/ lde dgu las/ jo jo rgod lde gu ger byon/ khyung lung dngul mkhar gyi rgyal sa btab/ bdud re ti 'gong yag sogs btul/ khyung lung rdo rje spyen gcig mas gsang yum byas/ slar glo bor byon g.yu ri sngon po'i rtser dgongs pa mdzad/ sa dpyad gzigs nas glo bo ma thang stod du rgyal sa bzung/rgod lde la sras gsum byung ba'i bar pas bal po dbang du bsdu/ spu rang du sku mkhar nyi bzung btab cing/ de nas brgyud pa mang por rim bzhin 'phel tshul du ma yod ... / For further details concerning these kings and their doings, padma-'phrin-las (p. 273) directs the reader to the full-length bi-

ography of Rig-'dzin-rje (Legs-ldan-bdud-'joms-rdo-rje (1500?-1577?). At present it is difficult to account for this passage and the king, Rgod-lde, mentioned therein.

12. Kun-dga'-bzang-po, Ngor-chen (1382-1456), Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i man ngag gi byung tshul gsung ngag rin po che bstan pa rgyas pa'i nyi 'od, Sa skya bka' 'bum, Tokyo, Toyo Bunko, 1968-69, vol. 9, p. 113. 2. Ngor-chen himself did not finish this work, but two completed versions exist. The one cited above was completed by Ngor-chen's disciple, Gung-ru Shes-rab-bzang-po, while a second version which was completed by Ngor-chen's nephew Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1479) was included in the 12th volume of Go-rams-pa Bsod-nams-seng-ge's (1429-1489) complete works, vol. 15 of the Toyo Bunko reprint.
13. G. Tucci, PR, p. 106.
14. The Tibetan historians are not in agreement on the paternal descent of Ye-shes-'od and his relationship to Byang-chub-'od. A full account of the differing versions is given by Prof. Tucci, op. cit., pp. 51-63.
15. Gzhon-nu-dpal, 'Gos lo-tsa-ba (1392-1481), Deb ther sngon po, New Delhi, 1974, p. 233.
16. For the dating of Sangs-rgyas-bla-ma I am following the account given by Blo-gros-mtha'-yas, Kong-sprul (1813-1899), Zab mo'i gter dang gter ston grub thob ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsodus bkod pa rin chen bai du rya'i phreng ba, Mtshur-phu edition (of Rin chen gter mdzod), pp. 36a-37a.
17. Ibid. His discoveries were extracted from the capital of one of the monastery's pillars and also from a nearby rock. They included many texts of the sutra class of teachings which had been translated from the Chinese.
18. R.A. Stein, Tibetan Civilization, London, 1972, p. 72.
19. It is interesting to note that the teachings embodied by these gter ma continue to enjoy considerable popularity among certain Buddhist communities of Nepal. I learned that a teaching based on one of the treasure-texts of Lo, the Rtsa-gsum drill sgrub, was given in Boddhanath during the spring of 1976.
20. Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, Tshal-pa, (14th c.), Hu lan deb ther or Deb ther dmar po, Gangtok, 1961, pp. 19b-20a.
21. G. Tucci, PR, and also his Discovery of the Malla, translated by Lovett Edwards, London, 1962.
22. Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, Tshal-pa, loc. cit.

23. Prof. Tucci speculates that the old royal line ruling in Ladakh may have come to an end at about the same time that the Western Mallas became established, and that a similar group took control of Ladakh beginning with Lha-chen Utpal. PR, p. 108.
24. A.H. Francke, op. cit., p. 96 (Tibetan text p. 35).
25. Tshe-dbang-nor-bu, Kah-thog Rig-'dzin (1698-1755), GGR, p. 2b.
26. D. Snellgrove and H. Richardson, A Cultural History of Tibet, New York, 1968, p. 96.
27. H. Hoffman, Tibet: A Handbook, Bloomington, 1975, p. 51.
28. The Collected Songs of Milarepa record that in the course of his wanderings Milarepa visited Upper Lo and spent a summer at Lo Lake. See The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa, translated by Garma C.C. Chang, New York, 1970, p. 95.
29. Bsod-nams-lhun-grub, Glo-bo Mkhan-chen (1456-1532), Mkhas pa rnam 'jug pa'i sgo rnam par bshad pa rig gnas bsal byed. In the colophon of this work, Glo-bo mkhan-chen states that a disciple of Sa-sakya-pa Chen-po (=Sa-chen) named Rong-sgom dwelled at Bsam-grub-gling monastery in Upper Lo.
30. The three holy spots were Rdza-ri, La-phyi and Ti-se (=Kailāsa).
31. Dkon-mchog-bstan-'dzin-chos-kyi-blo-gros (34th abbot of 'Bri-gung), Gangs ri chen po ti se dang mtsho chen ma dros pa bcas kyi sngon byung gi lo rgyus mdor bsdus su brjod pa'i rab byed shel dkar me long, ff. 31a-31b.
32. This account states that A-mgon-bzang-po offered the shrine to Kun-dga'-bzang-po after Bde-legs-rgya-mtsho's conquest of Purang. This is impossible since Bde-legs-rgya-mtsho reigned some fifty years after A-mgon-bzang-po.
33. G. Roerich, The Blue Annals, Parts I-II, Calcutta, 1949-53, Part II, p. 1071.
34. The account of the Yatshe-gungthang wars and the Gungthang-Sakya marriage is taken from the GGR, p. 3a. To this it might be added that the Gungthang princess who married Zangs-tsha, according to DCh p. 285, was named Lha-gcig-mdzes-ma. It is ironical that it was not the princess, but her servant, who mothered Ye-shes-'byung-gnas (1238-1274), the father of Bzang-po-dpal.
35. In DCH, p. 285, this king is called Bkra-shis-brtsegs-pa-dpal. Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub (1497-1557) in his Ngor chos 'byung, p. 251, gives the name Gtsug-lde for Mgon-po-lde's son.

36. We can safely guess that it immediately gained some sort of official recognition from the Mongols because Gungthang's power was so great during the reign of the young and short-lived ruler who followed, 'Bum-lde-mgon.
37. But, according to Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub, op. cit., p. 251, the Bkra-shis-sgo-mang temple was built by 'Bum-lde-mgon's father, who is said to be 'Phags-pa's disciple.
38. GGR, p. 7b: gu ge pu reng (sic) kha gnon du/ dkar dum gnam gyi khyung rdzongs brtsegs/

phyi 'brog men zhang kha gnon du/ bya rtshi rnam rgyal mthar po dang/

mtsho dbar nye ba'i glo stod du/ (8a) ni ri g.yag rdzong dkar po brtsegs/

glo ba (sic) tsho bzhi'i kha gnon du/ gtsang rong bya pho'i khro ba brtsegs/

ta mang se mon kha gnon du/ glo smad mu khun srin rdzong brtsegs/

dol po mon gyi kha gnon du/ dol po yi ge drug ma brtsegs/

la stod byang pa'i kha gnon du/ la ru'i gad rdzong dkar po brtsegs/

la stod lho'i kha gnon la/ khun tsho gad rdzong dkar po brtsegs/

skyid rong mthil du seng ge rdzong/ glang mkhar gsal ba'i yang rtse brtsegs/

rgya bal gnyis kyi kha gnon la/ bal bo ljongs kyi rdzong dmar brtsegs/

rnye shong rong gi kha gnon la/ bong tshogs gnam gyi ka ba brtsegs/

nub ri mtha' 'khob kha gnon du/ rod kyi brag rdzong nag po brtsegs/

phyag pa kha bzhi'i btsag pa ru/ chu dbar rdzong chung 'dzum skor brtsegs//

39. The division of land area into tsho units was common in Ngari and Lo since early times. In the fourth verse of the passage reproduced in the preceding footnote, "Middle Lo" (read glo bar instead of glo ba) is divided into four tsho. Natives of Mustang still commonly refer to the "seven tsho of Lo" (glo bo tsho bdun). According to modern reckoning, these are: 1) Smon thang, 2) Gad smad & Brag dmar, 3) Gtsang rang (= rtse brang) & Ma rang, 4) Tsho nub, i.e., 'Phred dkar, Rnam rgyal, etc., 5) Tsho shar stod, i.e., Yar 'brog, Sgar phug, etc., 6) Tsho shar smad, i.e., A kar, Na ma gzhung, etc., and 7) Shar pa, i.e., 'Bril, etc.

40. Concerning the dating of Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba, we know he was already flourishing before Sakya Pandita's going to Mongolia in 1244 because Sakya Pandita's letter to him was sent from Sakya. (See kun-dga'-rgyāl-mtshan, Sakya Pandita (1182-1251), Glo bo lo tsa ba'i zhu lan, Sa skya bka' 'bum, Tokyo, Toyo Bunko, 1968, vol. 5, p. 414. 2.) Furthermore, he gave religious teachings to 'Phags-pa in the year 1265 or 1266. (See DCH, p. 204).

41. Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba worked with Jayānanda, a pandit of Jumla (Yatshe), in translating texts connected with the Svarodaya Tantra. Jayānanda was also associated with Chag Lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal (1197-1265) who translated texts belonging to this very same tantric cycle. (cf. E.G. Smith, Preface to Pad-dkar-dbang-po's commentary on the Ngo mtshar rgyan gyi me long, Dhyangs 'char 'grel pa gzhan phan ngo mtshar rgyan gyi me tog, Gangtok, 1970. Two of the other main masters that Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba received teachings from were Darpan and Revenda. (See G. Roerich, Blue Annals, pt. I, p. 379).

42. The translator's colophons of his works are usually not signed either Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba or Shes-rab-rin-chen. The name he preferred was Rmongs-pa'i-gnyen-po-dgos-'dod-thams-cad-'byung-ba. Rmongs-pa'i-gnyen-po (literally: "antidote for ignorance") is a synonym for Shes-rab ("wisdom") and dgos-'dod-thams-cad-'byung-ba ("the arising of all that one needs or wishes for") is the equivalent of rin-chen ("jewel"). (See E.G. Smith, op. cit., p. 2, n. 3).

43. G. Roerich, Blue Annals, pt. II, p. 1046.

44. Besides the g.yul rgyal astrological system, Tibetan historians mention two others: skar rtsis which derived from Indian sources and 'byung rtsis which originated in China. (See E.G. Smith, op. cit., p. 1, n. 2).

45. Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, in his completion of the Ngor chos 'byung (p. 320) lists Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba as one of four great translators who were Sakya Pandita's disciples.

46. Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, Sakya Pandita (1182-1251), op. cit.
 47. Dkon-mchog-'jigs-med-dbang-po, 'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa II, (1728-1791), Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa lchang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i 'khrung rabs kyi phreng ba gtan du brjod pa ngo mtshar dad pa'i ljon shing, Collected Works of Dkon-mchog-'jigs-med-dbang-po, New Delhi, 1971, vol. 2, p. 354.
 48. Bsod-nams-lhun-grub, Glo-bo Mkhan-chen (1456-1532), Chos kyi rje tshul khrims rgyal mtshan gyi rnam par thar pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung, MS, p. 20a. In this biography of Dpal-ldan-pa Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan (d. 1476), a 'Phags pas dris pa'i lan is included among a list of Glo-bo Lo-tsa-ba's works.
 49. DCH, p. 449.
 50. The Dus-mchod bla-brang at Sakya was initially the most ill-fated of the four branches of the family. For five generations they did not once attain the position of throne-holder (khri pa) of Sakya. The first to do so was Sa-lo 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-dga'- bsod-nams (1485-1533), one of Glo-bo mkhan-chen's main disciples.
 51. G. Tucci, TPS, p. 16.
 52. DCH, p. 300, 305.
 53. G. Tucci, TPS, vol. II, p. 681, n. 52.
 54. The Gungthang king (mnga' bdag) Khri-lde-'bum is referred to as "Ta-dben-sha" in connection with his marriage to Kun-dga'-'bum of Sakya. See DCH, p. 449. The GGR, p. 10a, mentions his receiving a Mongol patent, but it does not specify the title.
- There were two Tu yuan shuai (Tib.: du dben sha or ta dben sha) in Ngari. They were chosen among laymen and the real power was in their hands. (See G. Tucci, TPS, p. 16, 34).
55. GGR, p. 11b. This figure is referred to as rta dbon which may mean ta dben.
 56. G. Tucci, PR, p. 129.
 57. See note #37.
 58. Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, Tshal-pa (14th century), op. cit., p. 20b.
 59. The important part that one family of officials to the Gungthang court played in the conquest of Purang and Lo led to their subsequent appointment as regional governor of Lo. The history of Lo under the first generations of this family's rule is the topic of a forthcoming study.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- DD Padma-'phrin-las, Rdo-rje-brag Rig-'dzin II (1640-1718),
'Dus pa mdo dbang gi bla ma brgyud pai' rnam thar ngo
mtshar dad pa'i phreng ba, Leh, 1972.
- DCH Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams, A-mes-zhabs (1597-c.1662),
'Dzam gling byang rhyogs kyi thub pa'i rgyal tshab chen
po dpal ldan sa skya pa'i gdung rabs rin po che ji ltar
byon pa'i tshul gyi rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rin po
che'i bang mdzod dgos 'dod kun 'byung, New Delhi, 1975.
- GGR Tshe-dbang-nor-bu, Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin (1698-1755), Bod rje
lha btsad po'i gdung rabs mnga' ris smad mang yul gung
thang du ji ltar byung ba'i tshul deb gter dwangs shel
'phrul gyi me long, 20 folia cursive script MS. Composed
by author in Mustang in the year 1749.
- PR G. Tucci, Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in
Nepal, Rome, 1956.
- TPS G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, (3 vol.), Rome, 1949.
- For references made to the Gungthang Chronicles see GGR.
For the Ladakh Chronicles see A.H. Francke, op. cit., and L. Petech,
op. cit.



the origins of sTod-pa: a nyinba clan legend¹

Nancy Levine

sTod-pa is one of four villages located in the valley above the junction of the Humla Karnali and Dozam Khola and is not far from Simikot, the capital of Humla District in the Karnali Zone of northwestern Nepal. These four villages are collectively known as Bod Yul-tsho bZhi or Nyin Yul-tsho bZhi, that is, the four Tibetan village districts or the four Nyin village districts. The inhabitants of these villages claim to have migrated from Tibet in the distant past, they speak a dialect of western Tibetan and are adherents of Tibetan Buddhism. The term Nyin refers to the particularly advantageous position of the villages on a warm and sunny hillside; Nyin is a Tibetan root meaning sun or day. In accordance with this, Nyin villagers refer to themselves and are referred to by other Humla Tibetan speakers as Nyinba. In Nepali, the area is known as Barthapale and its inhabitants Barthapalya.

Humla is an isolated and sparsely populated district occupied by peoples of both Nepali and Tibetan extraction. The Nepali speakers are numerically predominant and reside at lower altitudes along river valleys in southern Humla. Peoples of Tibetan origin are separated into five territorially distinct, endogamous ethnic groups located at the higher altitudes above the river valleys or in plateau regions to the north. The Nyinba region is at the meeting point of these two culture areas and is located near several villages of Nepali speakers. The district as a whole has been ruled by a succession of dynasties. The Malla kings retained control of the region until the end of the fourteenth century when they were succeeded by petty local chieftains of Thakuri caste known as the Kalyal kings.² The Nyinba held their land as tenants of several of the Kalyal chieftains and were under their direct political control. In the late eighteenth century, the district fell under the jurisdiction of Nepal.

The Nyinba occupy four major villages located within a five mile radius at altitudes of 10,000 to 11,200'. Allied to these major villages are a number of minor settlements and a few family owned dgon-pa or Buddhist temples. Each village is also divided into two to four village sections known as rus-tsho or pati which assume complementary functions at village festivals and rituals. The basic constituent unit of village social structure is the household or grong-ba which is usually composed of an extended family of several generations. Marriage is normatively polyandrous and residence is customarily patrilocal. The Nyinba depend primarily on agriculture for their subsistence with supplementary income in grain and goods derived from the salt trade and with milk and meat products obtained through small-scale herding. They are one of the most prosperous peoples in Humla and this prosperity is manifested in their large, comfortable houses, well-dressed appearance

and numerous, productive fields.³

Nyinba villages are said to have been founded several centuries ago by the ancestors of the present-day major clans. Representatives of other clans are believed to have migrated to the area at a later date, giving rise to a population which recognizes membership in thirteen separate clans. All Nyinba villages also include an additional clanless group consisting of the descendants of freed slaves. Whereas the founding clan of each village is known as that village's clan, the fact of later migrations, occasional matrilineal mag-pa marriages and the tendency of small, separate clan villages to unite has led to the current situation of multi-clan villages and settlements. Each clan is associated with one or more deities who are worshipped collectively by clan members and their fellow villagers at various festivals which take place in the spring and fall of every year.

The clans have genealogical traditions which specify the origin of their ancestors, elucidate facts about their migration to and settlement in the region and account for their descendants. These traditions are further elaborated in various clan stories or legends; the legends are known to differing extents by the members of a clan, and the degree of knowledge is dependant upon such factors as age, sex and social position. The stories of the origin and development of some clans are recalled in greater detail than others, but the basic features of the clan legend are common to all. The tale typically specifies the place from which the clan originally came and names the ancestors who first settled in the Nyinba region. There are episodes detailing the search for a homeland and describing how the ancestral gods provided help and sustenance along the way. One important episode specifies the way in which lots were cast or divine portents sought to find or verify the suitability of the new land. The founding ancestors usually consist of a father, his wife and three sons or three brothers who arrive by themselves. The young men then establish alliances among other inhabitants of previously settled villages by taking their daughters in marriage. Thereupon the clan prospers and its descendants increase over the generations. These clan legends are most often related by old men, village leaders, to informal audiences composed of fellow villagers at weddings, festivals and rituals throughout the year.

Clan legends are termed chhags-ba'i chhags-tshul, a term which may be literally translated as "the manner of the origins of settlement." Such stories are a distinct form of oral literature, differentiated from sgrung or epic myths and from lo-rgyus or history. The epics detail the superhuman exploits of such heroes as Gesar or Norzang Gyalpo; the Nyinba also relate the legends of local heroes, known as dpa'-bo. Histories are derived from written documents, whether Tibetan or Nepali. Thus the tales of clan origin do not fall into the category of either myth or history, although they certainly contain elements which are charac-

teristic of both. In the tale that follows, there are elements which are clearly mythic, in that they lie outside everyday human experience, such as the instance of being granted supernatural aid. These mythic events are combined with episodes which describe activities and behavior of everyday life. The ancestors themselves are represented as ordinary human beings lacking special powers. In the absence of any sources for verification or comparison, it is impossible to distinguish historical from legendary elements in the tale and to draw conclusions about the reliability of this account of the settlement of sTod-pa.⁴ However, the issue of distinguishing between myth, fact and legend in the account of clan origins does not exist as a problem for the Nyinba themselves. They believe that these tales recount events which actually occurred in the distant past and that they require no verification beyond the fact of their telling. When contradictory accounts of the same clan legend exist, it does pose a distinct problem for Nyinba individuals, and they feel compelled to accept one version as accurate and reject all others.

Clan legends are significant on numerous levels and in various contexts in Nyinba culture. On a very basic level, they explain how the village land came to be occupied, how religious monuments and other landmarks came to be constructed and how sites for worship came to be sanctified. In this way, they not only account for the location and layout of the village, but also elucidate the long history behind village traditions. Furthermore, these legends provide a rationale for the worship of specific deities, clan gods and ancestors by describing how the connection between the current inhabitants of sTod-pa and their deities was established and has been maintained. While affirming the uniqueness of particular villages as territorially and socially distinct units, they call attention to traditional connections with other villages and other clans through intermarriage. Clan legends also typically include episodes in which close connections are established with Nepali speaking peoples of Chhetri or Thakuri caste. In this and other such tales, one of the three brothers takes up residence within a Nepali community and, by implication, intermarries with his fellow villagers. This provides an illustration of kinship connection with the neighbouring Nepalese and serves as a justification of Nyinba claims to relatively high position within the caste hierarchy.

This together with other clan legends, including the variant versions, may serve as valuable documents for the study of Nyinba culture. Aside from the genealogical material which such stories present, they also offer insights into Nyinba beliefs about the nature of their descent system, the significance of clanship in their society and the former relationship which existed between masters and their slaves. They provide detail about local religious belief, marital customs and myriad other features of daily life. Perhaps most importantly, they offer information about the nature of the relationship between descent groups and territorial

units, such as villages and village sections. In addition to their evident importance as items of local folklore, they also serve as keys to the elucidation of Nyinba ideology and social structure.

This tale was related to me in the winter of 1975 when I was living at sBas Phug dGon-pa, a cave temple northeast of sTod-pa which figures prominently in the tale. The lama Drag-pa Chhos-ldan who is from sTod-pa's 'Khor dGon-pa' related that the story, unlike most clan legends, had once been written down and that the text had been kept with a copy of a religious work called mDo-mang (where family histories and genealogies are customarily kept in Humla). However, it had rotted away with the years till it became unreadable and was either discarded or lost. The lama stated that he remembered the text and related it to me. My assistant, Tshe-dbang, also of 'Khor dGon-pa', helped me to transcribe the taped version of the text. I began my translation of the transcription in Humla and completed it in the United States.

The transcription of the history follows the verse form in which it was related. However, I have not attempted to replicate the verse structure in the translation because of the difficulties involved in such an undertaking. The language which was used in the telling of the history is a combination of classical literary Tibetan and the western Tibetan dialect peculiar to the Nyinbas. The text often alternates between these two variant modes of expression. The Tibetan text contains a few repetitions which have not found their way into the translation which otherwise follows the text rather closely. I have employed a strict system of transliteration that will be readily understood by readers of Tibetan. The notes are offered to provide explanations of place names, occasional inconsistencies in the text and aspects of Nyinba culture that would otherwise be confusing to the reader.

The Origins of sTod-pa: Translation of the Text

When our forefathers came from Purang's sKu mKhar sTod,⁵ dga'-ldan Tsha-dbyang, a descendant of the great ancestors Dar-kya Phun-tshogs and Gang-dkar Lha-mo, was a great lord there. He fathered three sons; the eldest son was named dKon-mchhog dPal, the middle son was called Tshe-ring dPal and the youngest son was named bSod-rnams dPal. The wars between Tibet and the Sikhs were a time of adversity for lord dGa'-ldan Tsha-dbyang, and therefore his three sons had to flee from Purang's sKu mKhar sTod.

When they arrived at rTa Lung⁶ the autumn mists began and great snows fell forcing them to remain there for the winter. The god Pho-lha rTa sKyong dKar-bo⁷ befriended them and helped them. He brought the brothers quantities of flour and rice. They remained at rTa-Lung throughout the winter and finally came south in the springtime.

dKon-mchhog dPal stayed at Thing-thing rGya⁸ and resided with the Nepalis of the Kalyal dynasty.⁹ Tshe-ring dPal remained in the central plain of Simikot and bSod-rnams dPal made his home in sTod-pa.¹⁰ Thus the three brothers settled these lands.

Every year the three brothers worshipped their gods. dKon-mchhog dPal went to the field at the plain of Thing-thing rGya. He packed up tea, beer, all sorts of food and drink, and, on horseback, joyfully came to the field of Thing-thing rGya. In Simikot, Tshe-ring dPal bridled his horse and loaded on his provisions. He carried many kinds of food and drink, dressed himself in all his festival garments and came there. In sTod-pa, bSod-rnams dPal and all the villagers¹¹ equipped their horses, put on their best clothing, took along food and drink and went there.

The men were seen off at the far side of gLang-lo,¹² at the traditional place for saying farewells. All the women had donned headdresses and adorned themselves with turquoise and coral jewelry. There they ate and drank and, to the music of the drums and cymbals, made their farewells.¹³ Then all the men and boys, carrying tea and beer, food and drink, mounted their horses and rode off.

At Simikot's mountain peak, the three brothers made offerings to the gods¹⁴ and they continued to do so for many years.

This all occurred during the reign of Kalyal. Later, Kalyal¹⁵ harassed dKon-mchhog dPal at Thing-thing rGya. He experienced many difficulties there. Tshe-ring dPal cultivated brotherly relations with the Budha Thoki.¹⁶ He stayed on, settled down there and became a Budha Thoki.¹⁷ Then dKon-mchhog dPal who was still homeless went on to sTod-pa. He first sought portents from the gods. For this, he took one black sheep and placed a saddle pack on its back. He transfixed a white silk pennant in the woolen cloth of the right hand pack and tied five streamers of different color onto the sheep.¹⁸ He also filled the right pack with gold and the left pack with silver. He concentrated his thoughts on where his homeland was to be. Then he awaited a sign from the gods.

He came here as led by the sheep¹⁹ on his way, he stopped at sTod-pa Dar-chog, the golden palace of the ancestor and ancestress and he slept there. This site is called ancestor-ancestress for this reason.²⁰

sTod-pa village grew and expanded. The three villages of Khang Lho-wa, Khang rGyas-wa and gTso Dar-sa developed. But later on, during the rule of Kalyal, there were various setbacks. The village declined and was so reduced in size that finally only one small boy, Mon Lha sKyabs, remained.²¹ All his family's slaves fed and cared for him.²²

Then at the time of the sTod-pa Lha-sa festival,²³ the slaves performed the rituals for the gods Jo-bo dGung dKar-bo, Ser-bo gSer-ldan, dKar-bo Dung-ldan and sNgon-po gYu-ldan.²⁴ At this time, Brang-shod's²⁵ gTso dKon-mchhog of the house named Grong Khrod da had come this way to search for a yak. All the slaves respectfully invited him to come and sit with them, and he did so. They served him with beer and annointed his head with butter. He said, "There is one who is different among you. Who is he and where is he from, who are his father and mother?"²⁶ Then all (the slaves) replied, "He is our only master and benefactor, he alone we honor and reverence."²⁷ All the others have died out." Then gTso dKon-mchhog said, "Indeed, if it is so, I will give my daughter in marriage to this nephew of mine."²⁸ Thus Brang-shod's forefather gTso dKon-mchhog gave his word.

Then he gave his daughter in marriage to Mon Lha sKyabs. She was a young woman and older than he.²⁹ After she was married and sent to this village, her father went back and forth between Brang-shod and sTod-pa for many years. He gave his son-in-law and his daughter clothing, he did whatever was needed. The girl lived in sTod-pa for many years. After ten years had passed, Mon Lha sKyabs became independent and after twenty years at most he was self-supporting.

gTso dKon-mchhog's daughter, gTso-mo 'Dzom-'byung Bu-'khrid wondered whether prosperity would come to sTod-pa and whether she and Mon Lha sKyabs, a family of two, would attain happiness. She asked the advice of the lamas, the gods and the supreme beings. The lamas cast lots and performed astrological calculations.

The lamas said, "Now gTso-mo 'Dzom-'byung Bu-'khrid and Mon Lha sKyabs, this is the way you can secure happiness and prosperity: build four mani walls at the four corners of the village, plant four cedar and four tshar-ba trees at the four directions.³⁰ Then, above to the north, build a temple commemorating the conquest over kLu and bTsan.³¹ Guru Rinpoche subdued them at this place which is called sBas Phug and there is an impression of his body (in the stone there). There are also eight stupas containing relics of the eight Medicine Buddhas.³² Repair the decay. Paint the eight relic stupas white. Reverse the decline there. Give offerings to the gods without cease and offer butter lamps. Show your faith at the imprint of Guru Rinpoche's body. Have the book rGya Tog gSer bZung copied and purchase a statue of Buddha. If you, gTso-mo 'Dzom-'byung Bu-'khrid and Mon Lha sKyabs, do this then both of you will be happy and your descendants will multiply. Your lineage is from mNga'-ris sTod Pu-rangs sKu mKhar sTod.³³ It is the lineage of lord dGa'-ldan Tsha-dbyang, the lineage of a lord over men and a very great ancestor. In Tibetan, the lineage of a great father and a great lord is a kingly lineage. In Nepali, this is called Pal; that is your lineage."³⁴

After this was explained, gTso-mo 'Dzom-'byung Bu-'khrid and Mon Lha sKyabs invited many lamas and copyists. They made a copy of the text rGya Tog gSer bZung. They set up four mani-walls at the four directions, built the stupas and planted four cedar and four tshar-ba trees at the four corners of the village. They gave offerings to the gods and to the supreme deities. They repaired the decayed relic stupas of the eight medicine Buddhas at sBas Phug, that great place of pilgrimage. They worshipped there and gave offerings. After they had done so, the village expanded and flourished. A large village grew from one ancestor and one ancestress. They had sons named Nor-bu, rDo-ri and rTa-mgrin who were of their line. These three men fathered a village inconceivably large. Then true felicity came to pass. In this place named sTod-pa are the very descendants of the great father and lord, dGa'-ldan Tsha-dbyang who are called Pal in Nepali. Thus such happiness came to sTod-pa.

The hearts and minds of Mon Lha sKyabs and gTso-mo 'Dzom-'byung Bu-'khrid were overflowing with unmeasurable virtue. Because they did what was honorable, they worshipped and gave offerings at the relics of the eight medicine Buddhas and at the imprint of Guru Rinpoche's body at sBas Phug. Because of the merit³⁵ gained from having rGya Tog gSer bZung copied, the merit of obtaining an image of the Buddha and the merit of having built the stupas and mani walls at the four corners of the village, hindrances and calamities were averted throughout sTod-pa's existence. If men die, 'pho-ba³⁶ need not even be performed. And, as it is certain that sTod-pa men go to the heavenly fields of the Buddha, their wishes and deeds are exemplary.

FOOTNOTES

1. Fieldwork among the Nyinba was carried out between 1973 and 1975 with the financial assistance of the National Science Foundation and the National Institute of Mental Health. I would like to express my thanks to H.M.G. of Nepal for permission to undertake research in Humla.
2. Tucci (1956 and 1962) provides a discussion of the history of this area of Nepal and neighbouring regions of Tibet obtained from various documentary sources.
3. Furer-Haimendorf (1975: Chapter 7) discusses the economic base of this and other ethnic groups in Humla.
4. The problem of distinguishing myth from fact has been considered by Oppitz (1974:121-131) in the evaluation of written clan histories he collected among the Sherpa.
5. A hilltop village in the Purang valley which is said to still exist today.

6. A valley at an altitude of approximately 14,000 to 15,000 feet at 30° latitude 80° longitude located inside the Nepalese border at the foot of the high Nya-lu Pass.
7. Pho-lha are the lineage or clan gods among the Nyinba. For his help at this time, rTa sKyong dKar-bo, a local deity associated with the rTa Lung valley, was adopted as the god of this particular clan and is still recognized as such at the present time. sTod-pa men bring offerings to him whenever they travel up to the valley. rTa sKyong dKar-bo means White Horse Protector and, not surprisingly, it is believed that he has the form of a horse. In Tibetan tradition, clan gods are called Pha-lha while Pho-lha refers to a god residing on a man's body (see Stein 1972: 95, 227). The Nyinba associate this one term, Pho-lha, with both the ancestral and personal gods.
8. The forest above and north of Simikot, now district capital of Humla. In Tibetan, Simikot is called Gram-sa.
9. The Kalyal kings, known in Tibetan as the sPun lNga or the five brothers, ruled Jumla and Humla from the decline of the Malla empire until the Gorkha conquests (see Tucci 1956 and 1962 and Jwshi 1970 for information on these dynasties).
10. Located some five miles southeast of Simikot, sTod-pa is one of the four major villages of the Nyinba. The other villages are Brang-shod, Bar-khang and Nyi-ma-dvangs.
11. This account suggests that there were other inhabitants of sTod-pa at the time bSod-rnams dPal settled there. Other local histories suggest that there has a previous settlement in the sTod-pa area whose population had either diminished or died out during the local wars that followed the dissolution of the Malla kingdom. Although it seems unlikely that these people would join in the festivals directed towards gods associated with the dPal brothers, it may be that the description of a large number of people participating in this ceremony more properly refers to a later period of time when bSod-rnams dPal's descendants still carried out this ceremony (which has not been continued up to the present time).
12. A small settlement one mile northwest of sTod-pa and four miles southeast of Simikot.
13. An elaborate ceremonial farewell such as this is performed only at major festivals or to honor very distinguished visitors, i.e. only at events that concern the entire community.
14. The gods are not specified here, but they are probably clan gods who are typically worshipped near small mountain peaks.

15. The particular kings who were ruling at that time are not named here. The Kalyal kings are said to have heavily taxed and hounded their subjects, particularly those of Tibetan origin.
16. Budha Thoki is the name of a Chhetri clan.
17. Several Nyinba clan histories relate how Tibetans settled down and married into Nepali villages. Although the rules of caste endogamy among Nepali peoples forbid intermarriage with Tibetans, the Mongoloid appearance of many Humla Chhetris and Thakuris suggests a mixed racial ancestry (see also Furer-Haimendorf 1966:65).
18. Five colored streamers are tied on the right hand side of the neck of any animal to be consecrated to the god for divination or as atonement for moral transgressions against the community, community members, or the god himself.
19. The oral histories include an episode of awaiting signs and portents to determine the advisability of settling in any particular area. Another type of portent than that which is sought here involves the planting of trees or crops and observing their growth. Good growth is, of course, auspicious and indicates a place suitable for settlement. In this method of divination, the will of the gods is expressed through the unrestrained movements of the sheep. When the sheep settles down so do the people seeking a homeland.
20. This is the location of the annual ceremony directed towards the worship of the clan gods and ancestors, called appropriately A-mi (A-'phyi-mes) or ancestor-ancestress. The sTod-pa ancestors are named in the second verse of the history, that is Mes-mes Dar-kya Phun-tshogs and A-'phyi Gang-dkar Lha-mo. They are regarded as deities and givers of prosperity. It is not unrecognized by the Nyinba, particularly the lamas, that ancestor worship is not compatible with orthodox Buddhism.
21. Mon Lha sKyabs, according to sTod-pa genealogies, lived at least ten generations ago. There are no genealogies that go as far back as the dPal brothers but it is believed that twenty-three generations intervene between the settling of sTod-pa and the present day. One generation is equivalent to approximately twenty-five years. Tucci finds that the Malla empire collapsed in the end of the fourteenth century (1956: 112, 128-30, 153), a date which supports the genealogical estimates and historical claims of the various Nyinba clan histories, that the clans arrived independently at various times during and after the period between the dissolution of the Malla empire and the assumption of local rule by the indigenous petty chieftains, known as the Kalyal kings.

22. Until their emancipation fifty years ago, slaves were owned by Nyinba families. The slaves were said to be of Tibetan origin, spoke an identical Tibetan dialect but were distinguished from their owners by a variant system of marriage and inheritance.
23. A series of seasonal festivals concerned with the annual agricultural cycle and still performed at the present time.
24. Ordinarily slaves took no part in such ritual and even today their participation in these festivals is marginal. However, the absence of any adult sTod-pa men necessitated direct action by the slaves so that the festivals could be carried out and the gods propitiated.
25. Brang-shod, one and a half miles east of Simikot, is the largest of the major Nyinba villages-
26. Thus noticing immediately that there was a child of the master class among the slaves. It is, however, difficult to believe that gTso dKon-mchhog would not be acquainted with the affairs of a village so near to his own.
27. Literally "take to our foreheads" which refers to the practice of touching jewels, religious texts, representations of gods either as statues or in paintings and the like to the forehead. When requesting a favor from a superior, one may touch one's hands to his feet and then to one's own forehead.
28. An appropriate term of reference and address to all individuals younger than the speaker by two generations, to sister's sons and to wife's brother's sons. It is also used as a term of address to sons-in-law who are often real or classificatory "nephews".
29. An acceptable and not uncommon marital arrangement.
30. A small hardwood tree common to the Himalayan regions and that. (See Lokesh Chandra 1971).
31. Klu are known as nagas in Hinduism being deities with the form of a serpent which inhabit lakes and rivers. bTsan are demons who may be committed to oaths in support of the Buddhist religion. The Klu and bTsan referred to here were suppressed by Guru Rinpoche in an epic battle still recounted in local legends.
32. The mani-walls, mChhod-rten or stupas, trees and sBas Phug, a cave temple, can still be seen around and in sTod-pa. It is said that the stupas were constructed in ancient times by the Buddha himself; they are of finer quality than the usual local product. For an account of the Medicine Buddhas, see

Rchung Rinpoche (1973: 9-11) and Wadell (1958: 353-354).

33. The name of the Tibetan province is sTod mNga'-ris sKor-gsum, Pu-rangs is the name of the valley where sKu mKhar sTod is located. Pu-rangs is, in fact, a district that the Malla once ruled.
34. In reality, dPal is a Tibetan word meaning nobility, splendor, prosperity etc. Because of their descent from a lord of Purang (and it is not really clear how high a lord), members of this clan maintain that their caste status is Thakuri, the ruling caste in Humla prior to the Gorkha conquests as well as the caste of the present kings of Nepal. Although they call themselves Pal Thakuri this pretence of high caste status seems to have no effect on their relations with neighbouring Nepalese.
35. That is, the results of the performance of many meritorious actions, an expression of the doctrine of karma.
36. Tibetan lamas perform a ritual called 'pho-ba to separate the soul from the body after death (see Stein 1972: 225). According to this tale, the great merit accumulated by the ancestors of sTod-pa eliminates the need to do 'pho-ba, but, as the lama who recited the legend noted, it is performed anyway.

Transliteration of the Tibetan Text

Pu rangs sku mkhar stod nas yong ba'i yong tshul ni
 Mes mes dar kya phun tshogs zer a phyi gang dkar lha mo zer
 Yab chhen pha pha'i brgyud ni dpon chhen dga' ldan tsha dbyang
 De la sras po gsum 'khrung nas
 Sras po rgad pa'i ming la dkon mchhog dpal
 Bar ba'i ming la tshe ring dpal
 gZhon pa'i ming la bsod rnam dpal
 Sing pa dang bod pa dmag thab pa'i skabs su
 dPon chhen dga' ldan tsha dbyang la 'o brgyal byung song
 Sras po gsum bros nas phebs ba yin
 Pu rangs sku mkhar stod nas rta lung tu chhags
 De la kha ba chhen bo ston rmugs 'babs nas

De ru lus ba yin

rTa lung lha pho lha rta skyong dkar bo yi grogs dang phrin
las mdzad nas

Bag phye dang 'bras do bo gnang nas

dGun ka de ru bsdad

De nas sos ka mar la yongs nas spun gsum po de

dKon mchhog dpal de thing thing rgya ru bsdad

De ru mon spun lnga mnyam du chhags

Tshe ring dpal zhes bya ba de gram sa'i gzhung du bsdad

bSodrnams dpal zhes bya ba de stod pa ru bsdad

De nas spun gsum po de gzhis chhags ba yin

De nas gram sa'i la thog la thing thing rgya yi gzhung du
dog ra ru

dKon mchhog dpal 'di tshur la yongs nas

rTa la zhon nas dga' dga' brod brod byas nas

Ja chhang bza' mthung sna tshogs byas nas ru¹

Thing thing rgya yi dog ra ru yongs

Lo re re lha re re gsol

Gram sa nas tshe ring dpal zhes bya ba de

rTa srab chhas rgyab

bZa' mthung sna tshogs 'khyer

Ja chhang 'khyer gos bza' sna tshogs brgyan nas ru

De ru 'dzom

sTod pa nas phar la bsod rnams dpal zhes bya ba de

sTod pa yul kun gyi rta la srab chhas rgyab

-
1. Nas ru has the same signification as the same signification as the gerundial particle nas. Both are used in the Nyinba dialect.

Gos bza' sna tshogs brgyan
 bZa' mthung sna tshogs 'khyer
 Ja chhang sna tshogs 'khyer nas ru
 Phar la song nas ru
 gLang lo'i phar ma ru skyel ma byed sa ru
 Bumo thams chad mgo la dga' zhung bchug
 gYu dang byi ru btags
 rNga dang rol mo thams chad 'khyer
 De ru skyel ma byas
 bZa' mthung sna tshogs bzas
 De nas phru gu thams chad rta la zhon
 bZa' mthung sna tshogs ja chhang sna tshogs 'khyer nas
 Gram sa'i la mgo la spun gsum po de lha gsol ba yin
 De ru lo mang bo lha gsol ba yin
 De nas Kalyal din² la yin
 De nas gzhug la Kalyal gyi thing thing rgya ru
 dKon mchhog dpal la 'o brgyal mang bo btang nas
 De ru 'o brgyal mang bo byung ba yin
 De nas tshe ring dpal zhes bya ba de
 Gram sa la mon ba Budha Thoki nye bo spun byas nas
 De ru bsdad chhags ba yin
 Kho la Budha Thoki byung nas
 De ru bsdad chhags ba yin
 De nas spun 'di ni ma chhags pa

2. Din is a Nepali word meaning time; here it is used to signify reign.

De nas tshur la yongs nas
dKon mchhog dpal de tshur la yongs nas
sPun gsum po la ma chhags pa.
De nas lug nag po gchig la lha mo bsdar nas
Da nga yi chhags sa de
Ga na yod dam³
Sems nas
Lug sgal gchig bkal
Lug sgal gyi bal gyas pa la
mDa' dar dkar bo gchig gzer
Dar tshon sna lnga btags
Lug sgal gyi bal gyas pal la gser
Bal gyon ma la dngul
De la dkon mchhog la bden ba bsdar
Mo btab nas tshur la yongs nas
Yongs nas de nas stod pa dar chog gyi stod
A phyi mes kyi ser bo'i pho brang du
De ru nyal ba yin
De la a phyi mes zhes bya ba de 'di don la yin
De nas tshur la stod pa'i yul de mang bo phel ba yin
Khang lho ba dang gchig khang rgyas ba dang gnyis
gTsho dar sa dang gsum yul gsum chhags
De nas gzhus la Kalyal gyi din la 'o brgyal btang nas
De nas yul de nas la chung zad rgud pa yin
rGud nas yul de la mes mon lha skyabs gchig la gtogs pa yin

3. The interrogative form of the verb yod-pa in local dialect.

De nas mes mon lha skyabs kho rang gi grong chhung nga yi
a pha thams chad kyis gsos nas

Phru gu gchig lus ba yin

De nas stod pa'i lha sa la gtso chho bo jo bo dgung dkar bo
ser bo gser ldan dkar bo dung ldan sngon po gyu ldan gyi
dus mchhod la lha la gsol ba'i dus la

De ru grong chhung ba thams chad kyis lha gsol ba yin

De nas brang shod kyis grong khrod da'i mes gtso dkon mchhog

De de ru tshur la gyag lta ru yongs nas

Thams chad kyis mar la phep rogs bzhugs rogs zer nas

bZhugs ba yin

Mes mes de la chhang dang yar rgyab byas nas

Ya khyed thams chad kyis nang na tsha bo mi 'dra gchig 'dug pa

'Di de ga nas yin

Su yin

A pha a ma su yin zer nas mes de bka' gnang ba yin

De nas thams chad kyis nga'i bdag po drin chhen 'di gchig gar

dPral la la lon pa 'di gchig gar yin

gZhan ma thams chad ni yal song zer nas

Khang chhung thams chad kyis a pha thams chad kyis mes mes de
la zhus

De nas mes de da 'di 'dra yin na

'Di tsha bo de la nga rang gi bu mo gchig gtad yong zer nas

Brang shod mes mes gtso dkon mchhog gis bka' gnang ba yin

De nas mes mes de btad pa yin

Bu mo de lo chhen bo yin na chhung yin

Mes mes mon lha skyabs zer ba de lo chhung yin

De nas a phyi de la 'di ru btad nas

De mes mes de lo mang bo phar brgyugs tshur brgyugs byas nas
ru

Mag pa de la gos lag mang bo bkab

Bu mo de la yang gos lag bkab

De nas gtso dkon mchhog kho rang dgos nas byas

De nas lo bzhi lnga bu mo de 'di ru bsdad

Lo bchu nas mes mes de mgo thon

De nas lo bcho nga bchu drug nyi shu la khyim mgo bteg

Yul de la bde skyid chi 'dra 'ong chas⁴ 'dug pa sems nas

gTso dkon mchhog gi bu mo gtso mo 'dzom 'byung bu 'khrid

De da nga'i mes mes mon lha skyabs de la bde skyid ga 'dra
gchig shar zhas 'dug pa

Nga rang nang tshan gnyis la skyid po gan 'dra gchig 'ong
chas 'dug pa

Da lha bla ma dkon mchhog la bgros 'dris

bla ma thams chad la mo btab rtsis skor byas nas

Da khyed gtso mo 'dzom 'byung bu 'khrid dang mon lha skyabs
gnyis po

De la bde skyid 'ong ba'i thabs la

Phyogs bzhi la ma dang bzhi

Phyogs bzhi la mchhod rten bzhi

Phyogs bzhi la shug pa sdong bo bzhi

Phyogs bzhi la tshar ba sdong bo bzhi

De nas yar la stod la dgon pa byang phyogs la

Klu dang btsan gyi kha gnon la dgon pa

De nas sbas phug zhes bya ba de

4. This construction which is used in the Nyinba dialect appears to be similar to the Western Tibetan termination discussed by Jaschke (1954: 43).

Gu ru rin po chhe'i sgrub gnas yin

sKu gzhes yod

De la sman lha bde gshegs brgyad kyi sangs rgyas bchom ldan
'das kyi gdung rten brgyad yod

De la bzhig bzo byed

bChom ldan 'das kyi gdung rten brgyad de la sku dkar gsol
bzhig bzo byed

De la tshogs dang mchhod pa ma chhags pa phul

Mar me phul

Gu ru rin po chhe sku gzhes de la dad pa byed

De la tshogs dang mchhod pa tong

Chhos rgya tog gser bzung de bzheng

Thub pa'i sku gchig blu

De 'dra byed na

De nas gtso mo 'dzom 'byung bu 'khrid dang mon lha skyabs
khyed gnyis labde skyid gchig 'ong

Khyed kyi brgyud dag de 'phel 'ong

Khyed kyi brgyud ni mnga' ris stod pu rangs sku mkhar stod
nas dpon dga' ldan tsha dbyang gi brgyud pa yin

Yab chhen ni dpon pa'i brgyud pa yin

Da bod kyi skad la yab chhen dpon chhen rgyal po'i brgyud
pa yin

Mon kyi skad la pal zhes bya ba de yin

Khyed kyi brgyud pa de yin

gSungs nas de nas gtso mo 'dzom 'byung bu 'khrid dang mon
lha skyabs gnyis pos

De nas yi ge ba mang bo bla ma mang bo gdan zhus nas

Chhos rgya tog gser bzung bzhengs

Phyogs bzhi la ma dang bzhi bzhengs

Chhos rten rgyab

Shug pa sdong bo bzhi btsugs

Phyogs bzhi la tshar ba sdong bo bzhi btsugs

De nas lha bla ma dkon mchhog la tshogs mchhod pa phul

sBas phug gnas chhen zhes bya ba de la sman lha bde gshegs
brgyad kyi gdung rten de la bzhig bzo brgyab

De la phyag dang mchhod pa phul

Byas nas de la de nas yul mang bo phel ba yin

De la stod pa yul mes mes gchig dang a phyi gchig la stod pa
yul mang bo byung ba yin

Mes mes rim bzhin gyi de la mes mes nor bu zhes bya ba

De la sras po nor bu zhes bya ba mes mes rdo ri mes mes rta
mgrin

De gsum ni yul sem gyi mi khyab ba'i phel ba yin

De la bde skyid 'jigs po byung ba yin

sTod pa zhes bya ba yin

De ni brgyud pa ni yab chhen dpon dga' ldan tsha dbyang gyi
brgyud pa yin

Mon gyi lugs la Pal zhes bya ba yin no

De la stod pa yul la bde skyid de 'dra byung ba yin

sTod pa yul gyi mes mon lha skyabs dang a phyi gtso mo 'dzom
'byung bu 'khrid kyi sem du mi khyab pa'i dge ba gang
drags dang chi grags byas ba'i don gyi

sBas phug gi gnas la gu ru rin po chhe'i sku gzhes dang sman
lha bde gshegs brgyad kyi chhos rten dang

De la phyag dang mchhod pa byas ba dang

Chhos rgya tog gser bzung gzhegs ba'i phan yon dang

Thub pa'i sku blus ba'i phan yon dang

Phyogs bzhi la ma dang chhos rten brgyab pa'i phan yon gyi

sTod pa yul tshe 'di yi rkyen bar chhad zlogs pa dang

Shi na 'ang ni⁵ 'pho ba rgyab mi dgos ba
 Sangs rgyas kyī zhing khams la 'gro thag chhod kyī
 De 'dra las dang smon lam bzang bo yod

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5. A local grammatical construction meaning 'even if'.

generative phonology and the aspirated consonants of colloquial maithili

Ramawatar Yadav

1. Background

This paper attempts to describe the aspirated consonants of Maithili in the framework of generative phonology. The main question that will be asked is: Are the Maithili aspirated consonants to be treated as unitary phonemes or as clusters of two phonemes? In an effort to resolve the situation, 'simplicity metric' criteria will be used and their efficacy and value assessed. A modified version of the distinctive feature system of Chomsky and Halle (1968) will be used.

Maithili is the second major language of Nepal. It is spoken by a total of about 21 million people in the Bihar state of North India and the Tarai of Nepal. It is one of the modern Indo-Aryan languages of South Asia and is more commonly referred to in linguistic literature as one of the three dialects of 'Bihari', after Grierson (1909).

There are no synchronic studies on Maithili that I know of. The only diachronic studies that deserve mention are: Mishra (1947) and Jha (1958). Grierson (1903/1968) provides a classic introduction and specimens of the various dialects of Maithili. A paper by Jha (1939-44/1965) argues for fifty-six 'essential' phonemes of Maithili; to him every grapheme is a phoneme. Two recent papers by SIL linguists, Williams (1973) and Davis (1973) deal with Maithili clause patterns and Maithili sentences respectively, to date.

The author is a native speaker of Maithili. Like in any diglossic situation his choice of dialects and registers depends on various extralinguistic factors; in other words, constant code switching is a routine for daily interaction. For the purpose of the present study, however, examples are drawn from the Colloquial Maithili (CM)—the so-called theth [t^het^h] Maithili—as spoken in the Tarai of Nepal.

2. Maithili Phonological Inventory

In traditional segmental notation, CM has the set of phonological units presented in Table 1.

<u>Consonants</u>							
			<u>Labial</u>	<u>dental</u>	<u>retroflex</u>	<u>palatal</u>	<u>velar</u>
Stops	Voiceless	unaspirated	p _h	t _h	ṭ _h	c _h	k _h
		aspirated	p	t	ṭ	c	k
	Voiced	unaspirated	b _h	d _h	ḍ _h	j _h	g _h
		aspirated	b	d	ḍ	j	g
	Fricatives			s			h
Resonants	Nasal		m	n			
	Flap			r			(+h)
	Liquid			l			
Semi-vowel						(Y)	

<u>Vowels</u>				
i		u	}	+ ~
e	ə	o		
æ	a	ɔ		

Table 1 Inventory of CM Phonological Units

As shown in Table 1, there are 26 consonant phonemes and 8 vowel phonemes. All vowels can be nasalized underlyingly. Marginal phonemes are indicated by parenthesis. For instance, [Y] occurs only in borrowings from Sanskrit. Underlyingly it is /i/ and on the surface [Y] and [j] alternate freely in this dialect. For instance, [Yadab] ~ [jadab]. Phonetically all CM stops are aspirated and all resonants are laryngealized. How to treat them underlyingly forms the main body of this paper.

3. Aspiration

3.1. What is aspiration? Traditionally, aspiration has been defined as a 'puff' of air. But this usage is not specific enough as Ladefoged (1973) suggests. He argues that there are at least two possibilities as to how this extra 'puff' of air might be produced. According to him, it may be produced by an extra push from the respiratory muscle or due to a valvelike action of the glottis, allowing more air to be released. More recently aspiration has been defined in terms of 'the voicing lag', i.e. the intervening period of voicelessness between the release of a stop closure and the onset of voicing for the following vowel. Thus aspiration is a "large delay in voice onset" (Lisker & Abramson, 1964). And, still more recently a new 'theory' of aspiration has been put for-

ward by Kim (1970), wherein aspiration is defined as "a function of the glottal opening at the time of release of the oral closure of a stop." Acoustically, aspiration is noise in the frequency range of the higher formants.

3.2. Aspiration as a distinctive feature: Basing themselves on Lisker and Abramson (1964) Chomsky and Halle (1968) posit that heightened subglottal pressure is a 'necessary' condition for the production of the voiced aspirated stops of Hindi. On the contrary Dhala and Dhala (1972) confirm that the necessary correlate of aspiration is not heightened subglottal pressure as claimed by Chomsky and Halle; instead an invariable drop is found to occur immediately after the release of the closure in both the aspirates and breathy voiced stops. They argue that the feature Reduced Glottal Resistance after Release (RGRR) should be used for aspiration.

3.3. Salient features of aspiration in CM:

A. Initially there is full contrast between unaspirated and aspirated stops in CM. It appears that CM is particularly rich in minimal pairs, e.g.

/pul/	'bridge'	/tan/	'pull!'	/tik/	'pigtail'
/p ^h ul/	'flower'	/t ^h an/	'several yards of cloth'	/t ^h ik/	'right; true,
/bul/	'walk!'	/dan/	'charity'	/dol/	'small bucket'
/b ^h ul/	'brown'	/d ^h an/	'paddy'	/d ^h ol/	'drum'
/cor/	'thief'	/kam/	'work'		
/c ^h or/	'edge'	/k ^h am/	'pole'		
/jor/	'strength'	/gam/	'village'		
/j ^h or/	'soup'	/g ^h am/	'sweat; sunrays'		

B. Medially too there is a full contrast between aspirated and unaspirated stops in CM.

e.g.

/nəpa/	'measure!'	/poti/	'granddaughter'
/nəp ^h a/	'profit'	/pot ^h i/	'book'
/ləb+hi/	'bring!'	/udar/	'generous'
/lab+hi/			
/lab ^h i/	'umbilical cord'	/d ^h ar/	'credit'

/kəʔgər/	'shapely'	/car/	'pickle'
/kət ^h gər/	'solid'	/c ^h ar/	'shower'
/ənɖa/	'egg'	/bajəl/	'spoke'
/t ^h ənɖ ^h a/	'cool; cold'	/baj ^h əl/	'engaged'

/kəkri/ 'a fruit'
 /k^hək^hri/ 'paddy without rice'

/gəgri/ 'small pitcher'
 /g^həg^hri/ 'skirt'

C. In the final position aspiration is distinctive in all but /ɖ/ and /ɖ^h/.

e.g.

/kəp/	'shiver'	/bat/	'matter; talk'	
/kap ^h /	'scratch'	/bat ^h /	'pain'	
/k ^h ep/	'times'	/bad/	'after; exclude'	
/k ^h eb/	'sail'	/bad ^h /	'out into the fields'	
/k ^h eb ^h /	'plant seeds'			
/kaʔ/	'cut!'	/bic/	'center'	/bik/ 'sell!'
/kat ^h /	'wood'	/bic ^h /	'pick up'	/bik ^h / 'poison'
		/bij/	'seed'	/bak/ 'speech'
		/bij ^h /	'rust'	/bag/ 'garden'
				/bag ^h / 'tiger'

D. Only unlaryngealized resonants occur in the initial position in CM.

e.g.

/mam/	'mother's brother'
/nam/	'name'
/rer/	'crowd'
/ler/	'saliva'

E. Medially phonetically laryngealized resonants and resonants +h alternate with one another.

e.g.

[bər ^h au]	[bər ^h au] / bəḍ ^h au /	'please (cause it to) move ahead'
[kən ^h ə]	[kən ^h ə] / kən ^h ə /	'shoulder'
[jim ^h ər]	[jim ^h ər] / jihər /	'a tree'
[kəl ^h a]	[kəl ^h a] / kəl ^h a /	'adulterated(oil)'

F. In the final position, resonants get realized as follows:

e.g.

[baɪr ^h]		'flood'
[bər ^h]		'grow!'
[kan ^h]		'shoulder'
[kaɪl]	[kaɪl ^h]	'tomorrow'
[k ^h am]	[k ^h am ^h]	'pole'

4. Frequency

It is commonly held that it is useful to incorporate the information conveyed by the relative frequency of the phonemes of a language in its phonology. In this study, a count of the dictionary entries (Jha, 1952) of CM initial phonemes and of CM resonants +h occurring in all positions is provided in order to determine the relative frequency of CM consonant phonemes. The number of entries in this dictionary totalled 12,603. The frequency of occurrence of CM consonant phonemes is given in Figure 1.

1	/b/	1082	9	/n/	412
2	/k/	1017	10	/t/	396
3	/s/	906	11	/j/	386
4	/p/	891	12	/h/	383
5	/m/	754	13	/b ^h /	381
6	/c/	516	14	/k ^h /	369
7	/g/	506	15	/l/	354
8	/d/	477	16	/p ^h /	256

17	/c ^h /	253	22	/j ^h /	193
18	/r/	252	23	/d/	161
19	/g ^h /	215	24	/t ^h /	114
20	/d ^h /	214	25	/d ^h /	105
21	/t/	194	26	/t ^h /	81

Figure 1 Frequency of CM Phonemes

The total frequency of occurrence of resonant +h segments is presented in Figure 2.

1	[r ^h]	159
2	[n ^h]	42
3	[m ^h]	37
4	[l ^h]	19

Figure 2 Frequency of Resonant +h Segments

A few comments need to be made about Figures 1 and 2. First, the phonemes have been arranged in order of their frequency of occurrence. Second, the five phonemes with the highest frequency in CM are /b, k, s, p, m/ in that order; similarly the five most frequent aspirated phonemes of CM are /b^h, k^h, p^h, c^h, g^h/ in that order. Third, the sound segment which bears the lowest functional load in CM is [l^h] which occurs only 19 times throughout this dictionary.

5. Pregenerative Approach

Trubetzkoy (1939/69: 56-62) offers seven phonological 'rules' to determine whether a segment should be considered 'monophonematic', i.e., a single phoneme, or 'polyphonematic', i.e., a combination of phonemes. Of these the following are particularly significant:

Rule 1 — Only those combinations of sound whose constituent parts in a given language are not distributed over two syllables are to be regarded as the realization of single phonemes.

Rule II — A combination of sounds can be interpreted as the realization of a single phoneme only if it is produced by a homogeneous articulatory movement or by the progressive dissolution of an articulatory complex.

Rule III — A combination of sounds can be considered the realization of a single phoneme only if its duration does not exceed the duration of realization of the other phonemes that occur in a given language.

Judged by these criteria, CM stop +h segments come out to be single phonemes. Consider, for instance:

[li\$^hk^həl] 'written, fated'; not *[lik\$^hhəl]

[k^hə\$^hb^hra] 'deep ditch'; not *[k^həb\$^hhra]

Besides, initial consonant clusters are not permitted in CM (only high vocabulary of Sanskrit origin permit such clustering). This fact is also in conformity with Trubetzkoy's Rule IV:

Rule IV — A potentially monophonematic combination of sounds, that is, a combination of sounds corresponding to the conditions of Rules I to III, must be evaluated as the realization of a single phoneme, if it is treated as a single phoneme; if it occurs in those positions in which phoneme clusters are not permitted in the corresponding language.

according to which, such combination of CM must be regarded as the realization of single phonemes.

The situation with CM resonant +h, however, is otherwise. Consider:

[nə\$ ^h r ^h er]	[nər\$her]	'vagabond'
[k ^h ə\$ ^h m ^h ā]	[k ^h əm\$ ^h hā]	'house pole'
[kə\$ ^h l ^h ā]	[kəl\$ ^h hā]	'adulterated (oil)'
[kə\$ ^h n ^h ā]	[kən\$ ^h hā]	'shoulder'

According to Trubetzkoy, then, CM resonant +h must be treated as combinations of two phonemes.

Pike's (1947) 'interpretation techniques', based in particular on the criteria of 'predominant structure pattern' and 'syllable length' are no more revealing than those of Trubetzkoy, and would produce more or less similar results.

Hockett (1955) would presumably consider the CM aspirated consonants as clusters of C + h. At least this is what can be extrapolated from what he has to say on languages of India:

Sanskrit, and certain modern languages, such as Hindustani, are often said to have four types of stops: voiceless and voiced, intersecting unaspirated and aspirated. But in both named cases the aspirated (be it voiced or voiceless) is rather patently simply the phoneme /h/, which recurs elsewhere: this leaves just a two-way manner contrast.

Gleason (1961) too would go along with Hockett.

Remarking on Hindi and other languages of India, he says:

Hindi and many other languages of India are generally said to have four series of stops: voiceless unaspirate, voiceless aspirate, voiced unaspirated and voiced aspirate. Of course it is obviously possible to reduce these to two series, each of which can occur in clusters with a following /h/.

To sum up, it can be said that in pregenerative phonology it was not possible to have an evaluation criterion allowing the selection of one solution over several competing ones as preferable.

6. Generative Phonology Framework

The analysis of the Maithili consonants into distinctive features results in the matrix in Table 2.

All the features used here, except Reduced Glottal Resistance after Release (RGRR) and distinctive Release, are as defined in Chomsky and Halle (1968). Following Dhala (1972) the additional feature, Distinctive Release, may be used in order to capture the generalization that CM affricates, aspirated stops and breathy voiced stops belong to a natural class in that they all require the release of the closure for their identification. However, it is believed that either of the two features—RGRR and Distinctive Release—will do for the present purpose.

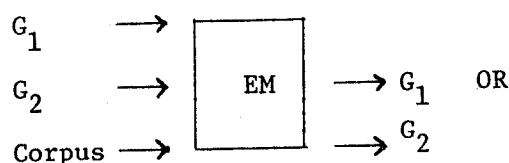
As will be seen below, generative phonology applies a mechanical procedure in order to evaluate and choose one of the several competing solutions. The criterion of such an evaluation procedure is economy and is commonly known as the 'simplicity metric.'

	p	p ^h	b	b ^h	t	t ^h	d	d ^h	c	c ^h	j	j ^h	k	k ^h	g	g ^h	s	r	l	m	n	h
sonorant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
anterior	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
coronal	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
high									+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-						+
nasal																						+
lateral																		-	-	+		+
continuant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+					
voice	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-						
RGRR	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-						
<u>or</u>																						
distinctive release																						

Table 2 Distinctive Features of CM Consonants

6.1. The Simplicity Metric

The notion of simplicity has been of theoretical significance in the framework of generative grammar. Implicit in this technical term are three main claims. First, simplicity is equated with generality. Long ago Chomsky (1955) stated that "simplicity correlates with 'maximal degree of generalization'". In other words, such an evaluation procedure will help linguist make the "strongest legitimate universal claim" about the structure of a given language. Second, it is claimed that the maximally simple phonologies have more "learnability" and hence will be easily learnt by children and readily preferred by speakers. Third, it is held that the child, in the process of the acquisition of a given language, will construct the 'simplest' grammar of that language compatible with the corpus. Hyman (1975) schematizes this as follows:



In other words, an evaluation metric (EM) will automatically ease the burden of selecting the maximally simple grammar. It is because of this particular claim that simplicity metric has attracted so much attention lately.

6.2. The Simplicity Metric and Generative Phonology

Within the distinctive feature framework, simplicity is often equated with the number of features utilized to capture a 'significant' phonological generalization. In the words of Harms (1966) "the average number of bits per phoneme is often taken as a measure of economy."

Now we go back to the original question, i.e. whether CM aspirated consonants should be treated as one phoneme or two. The answer to this question will be sought in the light of criteria as proposed in Harms (1966). Working within the framework of morpheme structure rules, Harms proposes two criteria to measure the economy of a phonological solution: 1) the number of features required to uniquely specify within the lexicon both the solutions, i.e. /c^h/ vs. /c/ and /ch/ vs. /c/ and 2) the relative frequency of occurrence of two sets of consonants— aspirated and unaspirated—in the language.

First the /c^h/ vs. /c/ solution.

Harms arbitrarily assigns the nth number of features to /c/. Thus a CM unaspirated consonant, /c/, will take one extra feature [-RGRR], i.e. n + 1 for its unique specification; similarly a CM aspirated consonant too will require one extra feature [+RGRR] i.e.

$n + 1$ for its unambiguous specification in the lexicon. In other words, /c/ and /c^h/ will each take $n + 1$ features; taken together $2n+2$. Here it should be mentioned in passing that in a theory of "Markedness" /c/ will be U, i.e., 'unmarked' and therefore will add no 'cost' to the phonological system of the language; on the other hand /c^h/ will be M, i.e., 'marked' and hence will 'cost' one extra feature, thereby rendering the system less economical.

Now the /ch/ vs. /c/ solution. We already know that /c/ has been assigned the n^{th} number of features. /ch/ thus will require $n +$ whatever number of features is required to uniquely specify CM /h/. Two features [+ sonorant, - ant.] are sufficient for an unambiguous specification of CM /h/. Hence /ch/ will require $n + 2$ features; taken together /ch/ vs. /c/ will require $2n + 2$, i.e. exactly the same as the /c^h/ vs. /c/ solution.

After a dictionary count it was determined that in a list of dictionary entries of 12,603, the total occurrence of CM /p/ was 1553 times and of CM /p^h/ 367 times. For an illustration of Harms' method, the following calculation may suggest itself:

	/p ^h /	/p/	/ph/	/p/
	$n + 1$	$n + 1$	$n + 2$	n
367 p ^h	367n+	1553n+	367n+	1553n
1553 p	367	1553	367x2	
Total	1920+	1920	1920n+	734

The above calculation shows that 1186 feature specifications will be economized if /ch/ vs. /c/ solution is adopted. It also demonstrates the fact that the selection of one solution among several competing ones is made almost entirely on the relative frequency of occurrence of the two sets of sounds. In fact, such is the solution that Harms suggests for Bengali (Ferguson & Chowdhury, 190) and argues that "even if the number of nonaspirated stops exceeds the number of aspirated stops by only one, the cluster solution will prove more economical." It should be noted, however, that Ferguson and Chowdhury (1960) offer a /c^h/ vs. /c/ solution for Standard Colloquial Bengali (SCB). And, so does Srivastava (1968) for Hindi.

7. Now, a host of questions that raise themselves are: Is this claim correct? Is there any empirical support for such a claim? Even if the claim as such is correct, is it useful? Should economy be the sole criterion for interpretation of the aspirates? Is it psychologically real? In other words, is this the solution that the native speakers of CM will readily accept? The answer to all

these questions is outright no. Such a solution is in fact counterintuitive to a native speaker of CM.

Also, a judgment on the explanatory adequacy of competing grammars of a language should not be made in abstraction, having recourse only to feature counting and economy. "Never underestimate the power of a creative formalist", said Charles Kisseberth—and this is true especially if the goal of the theory is mere observational adequacy. However, if the goal is to capture also the 'knowledge' (a notion not explicitly defined) of the native speakers of a language and thereby achieve the level of descriptive adequacy, the preferred solution must also be able to incorporate the native competence of the speakers of a language. In other words, the evaluation procedure should also incorporate the 'intuition' of the native speakers as one of its tenets. In this sense perhaps the formulations of traditional grammarians and some structuralists (Trubetzkoy, Pike, etc.) were far superior.

8. Finally, a question that remains to be answered is: how to account for CM resonants that are phonetically laryngealized? It is argued that the phonetically laryngealized resonants of CM should be treated as clusters rather than units because of 1) lack of distributional contrast initially, 2) free variation elsewhere, and 3) problems of syllabification, as shown in Sections 3.3 and 5. In fact, all that is needed is to have some P-rules notwithstanding the 'cost' they will add to the level of Phonological Rules in the grammar of CM.

CM Laryngealization Rules

Rule 1 $\left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{ anterior} \\ + \text{ coronal} \\ - \text{ high} \\ + \text{ voice} \\ + \text{ RGRR} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+ \text{ sonorant}] \quad \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ syllabic}] \text{ —} \\ \text{ — } \# \end{array}$

Rule 1 says that word finally and postvocally all $[d^h]$ becomes $[r^h]$ in CM.

Rule 2 $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ nasal} \\ \alpha \text{ place} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ anterior} \\ + \text{ voice} \\ + \text{ RGRR} \\ \alpha \text{ place} \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ syllabic}] \text{ —} \\ \# \end{array} \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ syllabic}] \\ \# \end{array}$

1 2 3

1 0 3
[+RGRR]

Rule 2 is written in transformational format and it says that word finally and intervocally $[nd^h]$ will become $[n^h]$ and $[mb^h]$ will become $[m^h]$ in CM.

Here is a sample derivation, for illustration:

Underlying Forms	/kand ^h	k ^h amb ^h	pəḍ ^h	cəIḍ ^h /kə	bəḍ ^h /ə1/
Rule 1	-	-	pər ^h	cəIr ^h /kə	bər ^h /ə1
Rule 2	kan ^h	k ^h am ^h	-	-	-
Derived Forms	[kan ^h	k ^h am ^h	pər ^h	cəIr ^h kə	bər ^h ə1]

The situation with [l^h] is not clear. But then its functional load is so low—19 out of 12,603—and the dictionary invariably provides the alternate, i.e., [lh] form. Here I suggest that may be the phonetic laryngealization of CM can be explained better if it is viewed in the perspective of, what is known as, the Convergence or Sprachbund theory of language. After all, almost all the Sino-Tibetan languages spoken around the region have a whole series of laryngealized resonants as underlying phonemes.

Also, it should be noted that in CM the surface contrast between a laryngealized resonant and a non-laryngealized resonant is maintained only in those cases which would otherwise cause semantic merger and thereby increase homophony.

For example,

[kan ^h]	'shoulder'	[bər ^h]	'grow!'
[kan]	'ear'	[bər]	'bridegroom'

and so on.

9. Summary

CM aspirates have been discussed in detail. It is decided that CM has 26 unaspirated and aspirated consonant phonemes—both voiceless and voiced. The phonetically laryngealized resonants of CM are treated as clusters rather than units. It is argued that a mere concern for economy of inventory is not adequate. It is concluded that if CM requires extra feature specifications in the lexicon, and extra P-rules to account for the laryngealized resonants that surface phonetically, then this is the price we must pay if we are to satisfy the distributional requirements, syllabificational constraints and, finally, the native speaker's intuition about the language.

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book reviews

Mahesh C. Regmi

Landownership in Nepal (University of California Press, Berkeley: 1976), pp. xvii, 231, xx.

Mahesh Regmi's latest contribution to the field of Nepal studies is in many ways his best. Landownership in Nepal is the distillation of years of research and analysis of the problems of landownership and tenure in Nepal. It is a book no serious student of Nepal can afford to ignore. Landownership in Nepal does not replace Regmi's earlier work: Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal (University of California Press, Berkeley: 1963-68, 4 volumes). Many readers will surely want to refer to that earlier work to round out their understanding of the modalities of land ownership and tenure. Land Tenure was a less mature study than the present work, but nevertheless it is still a landmark in the social and economic history of Nepal and the four volumes of Land Tenure treat of several aspects of land and tenancy on the land in much greater detail than is possible in the single volume of Regmi's Landownership in Nepal.

Landownership in Nepal, however, is not merely a re-serving of old broth. This is a new book, far more penetrating in its analysis and far more precise in its statement of themes than the earlier work. While both books deal with the land and land-related problems, Landownership in Nepal differs from Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal precisely as the titles of the two works indicate. Land ownership and land tenure are correlative concepts, as the reader will readily discern, but they are most decidedly different.

The first impression the reader forms of Landownership in Nepal is one of appreciation for Regmi's grasp of the documents. The casual reader should be impressed. Those who have worked with the sorts of documents that form the basis of this book will be overwhelmed. Not only are these documents embarrassingly abundant, they are also difficult to read and even more difficult to interpret, covering as they do a two hundred year span, recording an almost imperceptible evolution of real ownership rights in the land.

Secondly, one is struck by the clarity of Regmi's description of the successive stages in the emergence of land ownership rights in Nepal. His main theme is easy to follow, but so also are the subsidiary themes dealing with the various degrees of participation in ownership rights that were a distinguishing facet of Nepalese economic growth.

Regmi's earlier study of the concepts of land tenure and taxation in Nepal has served him well in the present work. There is no doubt that the basic question he addresses in Landownership grew out of his earlier study of the intricacies of land tenure in Nepal. His discussion of land ownership is far broader and much

more profound than could have been possible had he not first broken the ground in his earlier study. Saying this does not detract from Landownership's stature. Even when the subject requires a re-introduction of old themes, the reader profits from the more mature handling of these themes in Landownership. This is the third characteristic of this book that I would point out to the reader, maturity. Landownership shows Regmi as a master of the ideas he was quite evidently labouring to express in Land Tenure. In a sense, he is too much the master. He makes ideas that have the most complex origins seem simple and obvious. Only when the reader begins to piece together the intricate maze of ownership rights with all their varying degrees will he realize the full import of what Regmi has done. The glossary alone is evidence of this mastery. No dictionary, encyclopaedia, or study will provide the definitions Regmi has included as an aid to the reader. Each entry is simply and clearly stated. Yet each of these is the result of careful analysis of parallel usages and constant comparison of each term with related expressions. For historians of Nepal, the glossary is worth the price of the book. However, even this is surpassed by the textual treatment Regmi has given each of these concepts in the body of his book.

Perhaps most important, Regmi has given his description of the growth of ownership rights in the land a distinct sense of motion. We are not confronted with static pictures in which detail is added to dreary detail, but a sense of growth, of change, of response to stimulus. This is an achievement one appreciates more fully when Landownership is compared with contemporary literature on Asian economic history.

Landownership in Nepal is not without its flaws. The major flaw I would cite is a by-product of the maturing of Regmi's thought. His more precise explanation of terms in Landownership is at times quite at variance with his earlier explanations of the same terms. The reader is entitled to a comment or a note explaining that this is a development of Regmi's thought. This is particularly indicated because in his earlier works Regmi's style is compact, even dense. I think the reader has a right to know whether he has himself misunderstood the earlier version or the present version is indeed the result of new material or new understanding on the part of the author.

Landownership raises many questions for the enquiring mind. Individual readers will find abundant challenges to their own thinking, whatever their reason for studying the book. But two general questions have to be asked here that apply regardless of the individual reader's interest.

First, there is the question of publication. Abundant thanks are due to the Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies at the University of California at Berkeley for bringing out such a fine volume. Berkeley recognized what our own Nepali publishers and

research organizations failed to see, that this is a fundamental book that was badly needed. Nepal's need was far greater than Berkeley's. Yet for some reason buried in the labyrinthine ways of local bureaucracy, this book was not published in Nepal. We are the losers. The manuscript was ready for the press in 1972. Berkeley published it in 1976. We lost four years. One suspects that this may not be the only case of local genius, unrecognized at home, going begging abroad. One is justified in asking why?

Secondly, this book is not the first important study that Regmi has given us. His three books: Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal, A Study in Nepali Economic History: 1768-1846, and Landownership in Nepal (plus his various research papers) have given us a rich body of works documenting and analyzing Nepal's economic institutions and growth. Serious students of Nepal have found Regmi's work more and more useful as a support for their own work or as a base for a new line of reasoning. It is time to give credit where credit is due. Government reports, foreign advisers to Nepal, and foreign scholars have borrowed liberally from Regmi with little more than a nod of recognition or, at times, no recognition at all. Will Landownership be another mine of ideas to be borrowed without the simple courtesy of recognition, or will academics in the specialized world of Nepal studies have a change of heart and give public recognition to the man whose ideas and questions have so strongly influenced their own work? Regmi is, of course, not the only Nepali scholar who has been 'used' in this way, but it is his work that is under discussion here.

The other side of this coin must be mentioned as well. Local historians can no longer afford to ignore Regmi's contributions. Well over twenty years have passed since Regmi's works began to appear. It is now apparent that his writings challenge many cherished positions that no longer seem tenable. It is not a question of who is right and who is wrong. It is a question of growth in our understanding of our common heritage. Regmi's conclusions have a great deal to contribute and any serious scholar should want to consider and to evaluate the evidence and the arguments Regmi presents.

It is not merely Mahesh Regmi's conclusions that have significance for the local historian (professor, writer, or student). Regmi's methodology also has a significant role to play in the development and writing of Nepalese history today. Historians in Nepal have begun to sense that they have outgrown the facile chronology and evidence consisting of an isolated lal mohar. Those who take the time to study Regmi's Landownership in Nepal will find it a singularly apt introduction to the methodology of modern historiography.

Mahesh Regmi's Landownership in Nepal is a lasting book, one that will be sought long after it goes out of print. Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal has already become a collector's item for experts on Nepal. Landownership is destined to joined it as a basic book for any serious study of Nepal.

L.F. Stiller, S.J.

NEPALI JANAJIVAN, Khoj-grantha (Folk Life of Nepal, A Research work) Achalā Bhagawati Prakāshan, Darjeeling, January 1976, 137 p. price: Rs. 8.50 (N.C.).

Many ethnographic and ethnological works on Nepal have been already published in many languages by foreign anthropologists especially since 1951, when Nepal opened her door to the outside world. There are however, only a few ethnographic works that are reported by Nepali authors either in Nepali or English. Bista (1967) pioneered in this field through his publication of People of Nepal (HMG, Department of Publicity, Kathmandu) and his work has been referred so much both in Nepal and elsewhere, that it seems to be providing base line data even today for all those are doing serious work. This was followed by another Nepali publication, which has also been often referred to in the literature, called Hami Nepali (Shrestha, S.L.: 1971: Shrestha Prakashan, Lalitpur, 104 p., price Rs. 3.00). This book, in a nutshell, describes the groups such as Newars, Khas and other Eastern Terai groups (viz. Dhimal, Satar, Rajbangshi, Meche) and studies the linguistic affinities of these groups. The other noteworthy publication in Nepali is, Diyar Gaunka Thakuriharu (Shrestha, B.K.: 1972: Thakuris of Diyar Gaon, Karnali Lok Sanskriti, Vol. III, Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu), which is one of the only Nepali publication that meets a 'western' standard. This was the outcome of a multidisciplinary study in the Karnali Zone (Far - Western Nepal). This work represents a good 'model' of the kind of social research work that Nepal needs most. This was preceded by a publication, called Ethnic Groups of Nepal and Their Ways of Living, (Shrestha, D.B., C.M. Singh and B.M. Pradhan; 1972, Authors, Kathmandu). The latter work is not based on original research and is rather more of interest to tourists more or less coying the People of Nepal. Mr. Bista published another book in Nepali: Sabai Jatko Phulbari (Bista, D.B., 1973, Garden of all castes, Sajha Prakashan, Kathmandu, 131 p.). It is also a translation of author's earlier work, in an abridged form but with a view to catch the sentimentality of the groups described in People of Nepal. The general ethnography of Nepal has also been briefly dealt with in Nepal in Perspective (Bista, D.B., 1973: Rana and Malla (ed.), CEDA, Kathmandu, pp. 34-46). Royal Nepal Academy published another preliminary report on multidisciplinary study, entitled, Dhimal-Folk Life Study (Divas, Subba, Rai, Dahal and Sakya: 1973: Kathmandu, 31 p.).

One Ph.D. dissertation (or thesis) by Dr. Khem Bahadur Bista (Le Culte du Kuldevta au Nepal, en particulier chez certains Ksatri de la valee de Kathmandu, Paris, 1970) has been published while another by Dr. Bed Prakash Uprety (Analysis of Change in Limbu-Brahmin: Interrelationships in Limbuwan, Nepal) awaits publication. Since the inception of INAS, under Tribhuvan University as a research institute, the department of Anthropology/Sociology has conducted few projects on this line. Two of them, The Economy of

Pandrung: A Study of Chepang of Central Nepal (Rai, N.K., 1975: INAS, Kirtipur, 323 p.) and An Ethnographic Study of Social Change among the Athpahariya Rais of Dhankuta (Dahal, D.R., 1975: INAS Kirtipur, 274 p.) have been completed and are awaiting publication.

Mild attempts have also been made to publish ethnographic works by Nepalese authors in journals, magazines and newspapers published in Nepal. To name some of them, but not all, are Contributions to Nepalese Studies (INAS: Kirtipur), Kailash (Ratna Pustak Bhandar: Kathmandu), The Himalayan Review (Nepal Geographical Society: Kathmandu), Journal of Tribhuvan University (TU: Kathmandu), Pra-chin Nepal (Archaeological Department: Kathmandu), Madhuparka (Gorkhapatra Corporation: Kathmandu), Panchayat Darpan (Training Material Production Centre: Lalitpur), Hamro Sanskriti (Department of Culture: Kathmandu). Regmi Research Series (Regmi Research: Kathmandu) often translates ethnographic work from Nepali and publishes them in English.

Last year (1975), Janchbujh Kendra (Royal Investigation Bureau) compiled, edited and published a noteworthy publication on Nepal, called, Mechidekhi Mahakali (A Gazetteer of Nepal: 1975: Kathmandu, 4380 p.) which partly deals with the ethnic groups of Nepal studied both by Nepalese and foreign anthropologists. This work has been already reviewed in Contributions to Nepalese Studies (Sharma, P.R.: 1976, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 129-134) and also in Madhuparka (Rai and Dahal: 1976: Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 58-68).

The present work (Nepāli Janajivan) under review, as the author of the book claims, is an offshoot of the works published in Mechidekhi Mahakali. He claims to have reedited the ethnographic material and published it in book form. The author feels that the credit in the book should go to the authors, who have contributed articles in Mechidekhi Mahakali. The author of the present book worked as a member of the editorial board in the publication of Mechidekhi Mahakali and the articles submitted to Royal Investigation Bureau were once again abridged in the book (see p. 3). Needless to say, most of the lines of this book are quite comparable and compatible with the lines from Mechidekhi Mahakali. The book lists such groups as Brahmins, Chhetris, Sanyashis, Ghartis, Kami, Sarki under the label of Kehi Byabashaik Jatharu (occupational castes). The author states that Brahmins (the priests), Chhetris (the army) Sanyashis (the yogis) and Ghartis (the 'slaves') (but excluding Thakuris) should be 'classified' as occupational castes. In addition, thirty-six ethnic groups living in areas within Nepal have been listed alphabetically, and each of their racial, social, cultural, religious and economic aspects have been discussed obviously in a much sketchier form than found in Mechidekhi Mahakali. The longest article is on Newars (pp. 64-78) and the shortest in on Humli 'Tamangs' (half a page).

The bhumika (preface) and mera kehi kura (also preface) repeat almost the same lines and it is felt that one of these could have spelled out what the author has intended the book to be. The research workers, with whose co-operation the book was assembled are not acknowledged (their names have not even been mentioned), although it is promised in the preface of the book (p. 5), a fault to some extent repeated from Mechidekhi Mahakali.

While reading this book, two questions obviously arise. If this work is not original and if this has been already published in much greater detail in Mechidekhi Mahakali, is there any point in reprinting this 'revised and compact' form? Secondly for how long we Nepalese are going to quote, requote, or 'launder' the same work or material, when People of Nepal was written in greater detail, ten years ago? We dare say that the works published in an 'alien' language are not comprehensible and inaccessible to common citizens. Yet we have been 'photocopying' our own earliest works adding little more than hearsay to it.

I do not want to blame only the author of the work under review because we have experienced such cases even in the past. The existence of People of Nepal published in 1967 is completely ignored by the authors of the book Ethnic Groups of Nepal and Their Ways of Living which was published in 1972. Can the authors give proof to the question that they did not see the earlier publication published five years earlier? Anybody can see from the face of the latter book that it was not based on field work. This trend would certainly discourage serious workers in the field especially when facing exploitation on the part of subsequent authors. The scholars' code of conduct (not to mention copyright rules) necessitate that due credit be given to the original authors. Many daily and weekly newspapers such as Gorkhapatra and The Rising Nepal (both published by Gorkhapatra Corporation) have also been seen from time to time publishing 'cheap' articles on ethnography. Radio Nepal broadcasts stale articles from time to time. The editors in these media cannot ignore any longer the work that has been accomplished to date. This trend does not help, but discourages the healthy nourishment of research that is now being undertaken. We do not want anymore 'quantity' but 'quality' of the work. This kind of 'reprinting' may help the new author to gain cheap popularity but it will not help him in the long run. To quote the original author correctly will not spoil the borrowing author's academic picture, rather it enlarges the impression of his knowledge.

In the line that I have taken above I would consider this work under review of almost the same pattern of Ethnic Groups of Nepal and Their Ways of Living. In fact Hami Nepali can be considered relatively of a better quality in this regard, because it reports first hand field observation and is much more guided by the author's independent work, but it also gives a smell of sentimentality and ethnocentric bias. It reports some 'facts' which can never be proven from anthropological and linguistic point of

view. This trend is also a danger to authentic research and it ought to be discouraged.

The author, I believe, is a very brilliant writer of many essays relating the social norms of Nepalese life. His interest, if I am correct, is now bending towards a serious study of history, art and architecture and people of Nepal. We can expect from him more serious publications in the future. My aim to write this review is just to call an attention of the Nepalese students of Anthropology as to evaluate the work done in the last decade and equip ourselves for the future.

Navin K. Rai

